

HUGH ETERIANO: *CONTRA PATARENOS*

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VOLUME 55



HUGH ETERIANO *CONTRA PATARENOS*

Edited and translated with a commentary by
Janet Hamilton

With a description of the manuscripts by
Sarah Hamilton

and an historical introduction by
Bernard Hamilton



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On the cover: A wolf threatens the sheep, an allegory of heresy threatening the Church. (An early thirteenth-century Bestiary; MS Bodley 764, Bodleian Library Oxford)
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To

Alice and Steven and Stephen

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ix
List of Illustrations	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	1
<i>Bernard Hamilton</i>	
Who were the Patarenes?	1
The Christian Dualist context of the <i>Contra Patarenos</i>	24
The links between Bogomils and Catharism	56
<i>Papa</i> Nicetas of Constantinople	73
Conclusion	99
The Manuscripts of the <i>Contra Patarenos</i>	103
<i>Sarah Hamilton</i>	
Hugh Eteriano: Life and Writings	109
<i>Janet Hamilton</i>	
<i>Contra Patarenos</i>	155
<i>Edited by Janet Hamilton</i>	
<i>Contra Patarenos</i>	177
<i>Translated by Janet Hamilton</i>	
Commentary on the <i>Contra Patarenos</i>	193
<i>Janet Hamilton</i>	
Preface	193
Commentary	194
Bibliography	229
Biblical Index	243
General Index	245

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This collaborative work has directly involved three members of our family, but inevitably the other three members have had to live with the fall-out attendant on academic undertakings of this kind. We appreciate their tolerance and good-humoured support and dedicate this book to them with our thanks.

Janet Hamilton
Sarah Hamilton
Bernard Hamilton

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1. A twelfth-century capital, showing Constantine the Great treading underfoot the enemies of the Church. It is the duty of a Christian Emperor to suppress heresy. (Autun Cathedral)
- Fig. 2. A wolf threatens the sheep, an allegory of heresy threatening the Church. (An early thirteenth-century Bestiary; MS Bodley 764, Bodleian Library Oxford)

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> ed. J. Bollandus, G. Henschenius <i>et al.</i> (Antwerp, etc. 1643–).
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen.</i>
BISI	<i>Bullettino dell' Instituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio Muratoriano.</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i>
CICO	Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici Orientalis, <i>Fontes.</i>
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History.</i>
Mansi	G.D. Mansi, ed. <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . nova et amplissima collectio</i> , 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759–98).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</i>
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores.</i>
MÖIG	<i>Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung.</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica.</i>
PG	J.P. Migne <i>Patrologia Graeca.</i>
PL	J.P. Migne <i>Patrologia Latina.</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études Byzantines.</i>
RHGF	M. Bouquet <i>et al.</i> ed. <i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> 24 vols (Paris, 1737–1904).
RS	Rolls Series.
SC	Sources Chrésiennes.
T & M	<i>Travaux et Mémoires.</i>

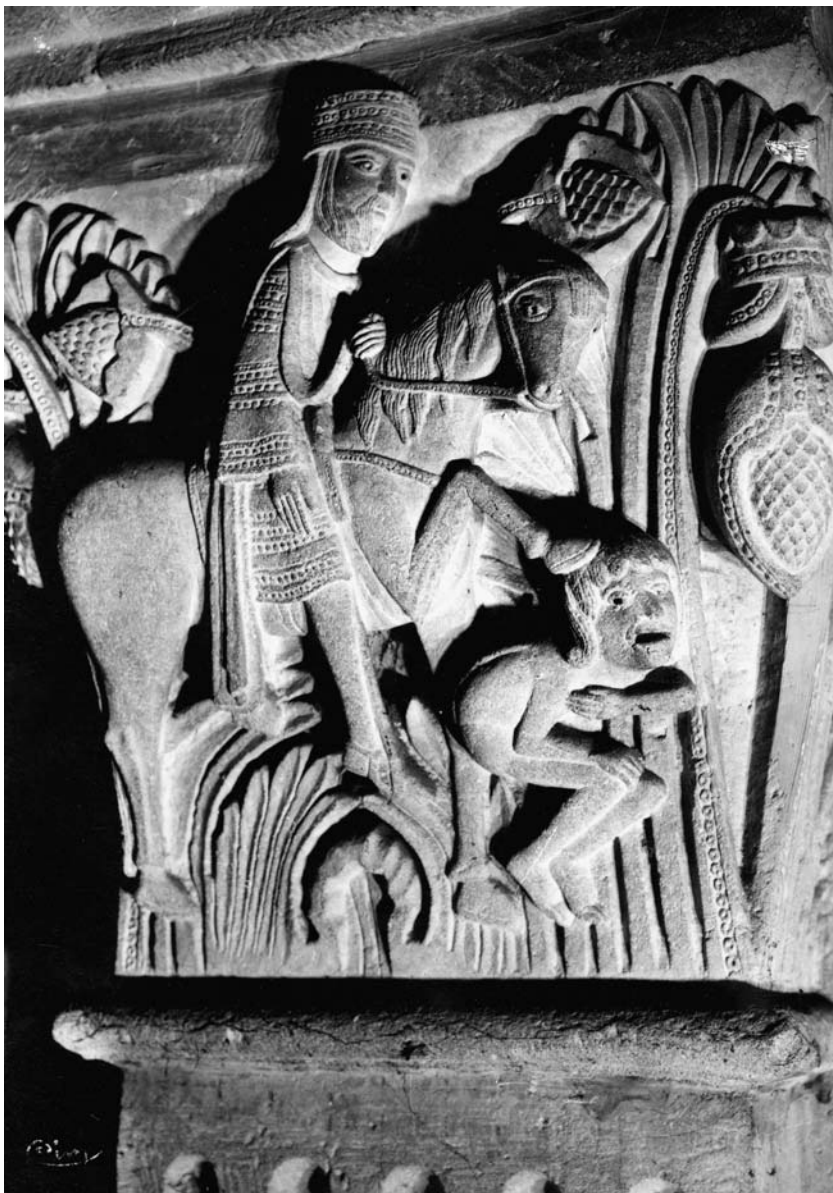


Fig. 1. A twelfth-century capital, showing Constantine the Great treading underfoot the enemies of the Church. It is the duty of a Christian Emperor to suppress heresy. (Autun Cathedral)



Fig. 2. A wolf threatens the sheep, an allegory of heresy threatening the Church.
(An early thirteenth-century Bestiary; MS Bodley 764, Bodleian Library Oxford)

INTRODUCTION

Bernard Hamilton

1. *Who were the Patarenes?*

When my wife and I were collecting materials for a volume of translated texts about eastern Christian dualism, we found a reference to the unpublished *Contra Patarenos* of Hugh Eteriano in an article by Fr. A. Dondaine.¹ In the commentary to our translation of it we expressed our agreement with Dondaine's view that this tract was directed against the Bogomils of Constantinople.² Nevertheless, in the course of preparing this edition we have come to realise that that explanation is unsatisfactory.

Although it is theoretically possible that Hugh Eteriano, as an adviser to Manuel I Comnenus on Western Church affairs, might have been asked by some important noblemen to write this tract in order to encourage the emperor to enforce the laws against Bogomils who were present in his capital city, the form of the treatise does not support such a view. Hugh ends his work by saying that he has composed what later Western writers against heresy would term a *summa auctoritatum*, a list of the main points at issue, each of which is accompanied by a number of citations from orthodox authorities which refute the heretical claims.³ Such a work, if it related to Byzantine Bogomils, would have been completely redundant in Constantinople, because Euthymius Zigabenus, a theologian in the service of Manuel's grandfather, Alexius I, had written a detailed account of the beliefs of the Bogomils, together with a refutation of them, based on the evidence given by their leader Basil at his trial in

¹ A. Dondaine, 'Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*. 19 (1952), pp. 109–114.

² J. and B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650–c. 1450* (Manchester and New York, 1998), pp. 234–5.

³ 'In hoc opusculo digesta sunt, ut industrii viri evidentes habeant, auctoritates quibus intelligentissimo imperatori Manuel innixi persuadeant facillime que nigra theta perditissime hominum secte frontibus infigi iubeat.' See below p. 176.

c. 1098–1103.⁴ This formed Book XXVII of his *Dogmatic Panoply* and was readily available to anyone who wished to know about Bogomilism.⁵ Moreover, Hugh never uses the term Bogomil to describe the heretics he is denouncing, yet he would surely have done so had it been that sect which he was attacking, because that was the name by which they were known in the Byzantine world. Instead, Hugh calls the heretics Patarenes.

The claim has been made by various scholars that Patarene was in origin a Greek word and that Hugh was simply adopting and latinizing a Byzantine term. Dujčev suggested that the word was derived from *Pater emon*, the opening words in Greek of the Our Father, because the Bogomils were constantly reciting that prayer.⁶ Dondaine made two suggestions. The first was that the word related to the inhabitants of Patara in southern Asia Minor: ‘Et il n’y aurait aucune difficulté à admettre que les apôtres bogomiles soient parties de la côte de Lycie pour venir prêcher leur religion en Occident: les Bogomiles avaient essaimé dans toute l’Asie Mineure et l’Anatolie.’⁷ He was not satisfied with this explanation and later made a different suggestion: that the name was derived from the *paterista*, the staff with a *tau*-cross head, which was used by Orthodox monks, and, by extension, by Bogomils who often dressed, and indeed lived, as monks.⁸ Christine Thouzellier concluded her examination of this problem: ‘Que le nom *Patarinus* ait une origine grecque indépendante, n’est pas à rejeter, comme dérivé soit de *Pater*, ou de Patara, ou de *paterista*, etc. (sic). En l’état actuel de la documentation, il apparaîtrait officiellement comme synonyme de hérétique à la même époque à Constantinople et en Italie.’⁹

None of these ingenious explanations is convincing, because there is no evidence in any Byzantine source that a Greek form of the

⁴ The date is established by M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 485–6.

⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Dogmatic Panoply*, Bk. XXVII, PG, 130, cols. 1289–1331; a manuscript at Utrecht contains another account of Bogomils by Zigabenus: *De haeresi Bogomilorum Narratio*, ed. G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten: Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 87–125.

⁶ I. Dujčev, *Compte-rendu in Byzantinoslavica*, 19 (1958), pp. 318–319.

⁷ Dondaine, ‘Hugues Ethérien’, p. 112.

⁸ A. Dondaine, ‘Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare’, *AFP*, 24 (1959), pp. 275–6.

⁹ C. Thouzellier, *Hérésie et Hérétiques. Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois* (Rome, 1969), p. 221.

word Patarene existed. The belief that Patarene is a Greek word in origin rests on two assumptions: first, that the dualists of Bosnia and Dalmatia, who were normally called Patarenes, were members of what Obolensky has called the Byzantine commonwealth; secondly, that Hugh Eteriano used the word Patarenes to describe the Bogomils of Constantinople. Neither of these assumptions is true. The coastal cities of Dalmatia and the Banate of Bosnia were, in religious and cultural terms, part of Latin Christendom,¹⁰ while Hugh Eteriano was writing against a group of Western heretics living in Constantinople.

The word Patarene was first used in eleventh-century Milan to describe a group of militant supporters of the reform programme of Pope Alexander II (1061–73), which centred on the enforcement of clerical celibacy, and the suppression of simony, the sale of church offices. Their aristocratic opponents referred to them as *Patarini*. Bonizo of Sutri, writing in c. 1080, explained the term: their critics, ‘taunting them because of their poverty, called them Patarenes, that is, men dressed in rags’.¹¹ Arnulf, the historian of the church of Milan, says that the term Patarenes was used ironically¹² and this was certainly true, for the movement was led by Arialduus a scholar, Anselm a priest, and two noblemen, the brothers Landulf and Erlembald. Other, more far-fetched explanations of the term Patarene were advanced by near-contemporary writers,¹³ but there seems no reason to doubt Bonizo’s explanation, particularly because the via dei Pattari in medieval Milan was the street of the rag-pickers. In other words, Patarenes was a term of abuse used by the opponents of the movement, of which the English equivalent would be ragamuffins. The eleventh-century Patarenes were not heretical. They denounced priestly concubinage and urged the laity to refuse to receive the sacraments from simoniac priests. In 1067 they came into armed conflict with Archbishop Guido, a strong opponent of the policies of the reformed Papacy, who ruled Milan on behalf of the Emperor Henry IV, and were given the banner of St. Peter by Archdeacon Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII, the chief

¹⁰ See below, p. 63.

¹¹ ‘eisque paupertatem improperantes, Paterinos, id est pannosos, vocabant’, *Liber ad amicum*, VI, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, I, p. 591.

¹² Arnulf, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, III, 13, ed. L.C. Bethmann, W. Wattenbach, *MGH SS*, VIII (Hanover, 1845), p. 20.

¹³ H.E.J. Cowdrey, ‘The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 ser., 18 (1968), p. 32, n. 2.

advocate of radical reform in the papal curia. The movement spread to Piacenza and Cremona and lasted for a generation, though its importance in Milan fluctuated in response to wider political pressures. The Patarenes received the accolade of papal approval in 1095, when Urban II licensed the cult of two of the movement's founders, Arialduus and Erlembald.¹⁴

After the Milanese reform movement had ended, the term Patarene was not used again for some seventy years. When it was re-introduced, it was applied to an heretical movement. The first dated instance of this use comes from Florence, where it is recorded that on Low Sunday 1173 church services were suspended on account of the Patarenes, that is, the city was placed under an interdict.¹⁵ When Hugh Eteriano had to find a name for the heretics of Constantinople whom he was denouncing he used the term Patarene, which had been newly revived in Tuscany, since he was himself a Pisan and the heretics about whom he was writing, as is clear from internal evidence, were Latins.¹⁶

What the heretical groups in twelfth-century Tuscany and Constantinople had in common with the eleventh-century Patarenes of Milan was a critical attitude to the Catholic clergy, particularly to the higher clergy, to whom, on occasion, they incited lay people to refuse canonical obedience.¹⁷ This may have led their opponents to revive the old term of abuse and call these heretics 'ragamuffins'.¹⁸ What does seem certain is that there was no continuity between the two movements, and that any similarities were partial and coincidental.

The name Patarenes came to mean Cathars after 1179. Before that year it is difficult to be sure whether the term applied to dualist heretics unless some additional information is given which allows this identification to be made. Cathars were certainly present in Western Europe at the time when Hugh wrote the *Contra Patarenos*, but they were known by a number of different names.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–48.

¹⁵ *Annales Florentini*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, XIX (Hanover, 1866), p. 224.

¹⁶ See below, p. 10.

¹⁷ See below, p. 6.

¹⁸ Duvernoy has suggested that, because the members of the Lombard communes who had supported papal reform in the eleventh century had been called Patarenes by their imperialist opponents, 'les membres de la ligue lombarde [au XII^e siècle] préférèrent appliquer un terme allemand à leurs hérétiques'. J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme. I. La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), p. 306. This argument is not very cogent.

Although it can be convincingly argued that dualist heresy entered Western Europe from the Byzantine Empire in the first half of the eleventh century, this view remains controversial, and I do not intend to discuss it here because it has no bearing on the understanding of Hugh's treatise.¹⁹ Certainly there was a break of some sixty years, from 1052–1114, during which there were no reported cases of heresy in Western Europe which could be considered dualist. Such cases began to occur again in the twelfth century, but although it is disputed whether some of the heretics were Cathars,²⁰ there is general consensus that from 1143, when a group of heretics, led by a bishop and his *socius* who held dualist beliefs and claimed links with Byzantium were brought to trial at Cologne, there were Cathars in Western Europe.²¹

The majority of scholars accept that Catharism was a Western offshoot of the Bogomil heresy, prevalent in Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire since the tenth century, because the two movements share a common understanding of the Christian faith. Not merely do they agree about matters of doctrine, they also share a common tradition of Biblical exegesis, similar initiation rites and forms of public worship, and, in large measure, a common pattern of *ascesis* and of hierarchical organization.²² Recently, Yuri Stoyanov has drawn attention also to the use by both Bogomils and Cathars of a common mythology, drawn from Greek and Old Slavonic apocryphal texts.²³ There are, nevertheless, some scholars who do not consider that Balkan dualism played any significant part in the evolution of Catharism, notably Mark Pegg, though in his lively account of southern French Catharism he is only able to sustain this view by ignoring the origins

¹⁹ The now classical statement that the eleventh-century heresies were indigenous to Western Europe is that of R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, 2 edn. (Oxford, 1985), pp. 23–45, 285–9. This view has been challenged by M. Frassetto, 'The sermons of Adhémar of Chabannes and the Letter of Héribert. New sources concerning the origins of medieval heresy', *Revue Bénédictine*, 109 (1999), pp. 324–40; Claire Taylor, 'The Letter of Héribert of Périgord as a source for dualist heresy in the society of eleventh-century Aquitaine', *JMH*, 26 (2000), pp. 313–49.

²⁰ E.g. the followers of Clement of Bucy in c. 1114, see below, pp. 67–8.

²¹ Eberwin of Steinfeld in the Appendix to the letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, no. CDXXXII, *PL*, 182, col. 679.

²² The most detailed exposition is that of J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme. I. La religion des Cathares. II. L'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976, 1979).

²³ Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 260–86; see also A. Greco, *Mitologia Catara. Il favoloso mondo delle origini* (Spoleto, 2000), but see below p. 39.

of the rituals and forms of organization present in the communities he analyses.²⁴

Catharism spread from northern Europe to southern France, perhaps as early as 1145 when St. Bernard of Clairvaux visited the Toulousain to preach against heresy. According to Geoffrey of Auxerre who accompanied him, the heretics whom Bernard encountered included a group of *Ariani*, whom some scholars, including myself, would identify as moderate dualist Cathars, though others would dispute this.²⁵ A generation later Catharism was so well-established in Languedoc that Pope Alexander III, at the Council of Tours in 1163, could denounce 'a damnable heresy which formerly sprang up in the region of Toulouse [which], like a cancer, spreading to the surrounding districts, has already infected a large number of people throughout Gascony and in other provinces'.²⁶

Catharism was not reported by the Catholic authorities in Italy before the 1170s, although it seems to have taken root there some years earlier.²⁷ Florence was placed under an interdict in 1173 because of the activities of the Patarenes.²⁸ Although it is not completely certain that those heretics were Cathars, there is no doubt about those whom Archbishop Galdino (1166–76) encountered at Milan, apparently towards the end of his reign: 'The heresy of the Cathars began to break out in the city. It had grown to such a point . . . that many people publicly preached that heresy, together with other errors, quite fearlessly and the souls of many simple people were caught in the deceitful snares of the Devil'.²⁹

The diffusion of Catharism took place partly during the years when Pope Alexander III and his allies were in conflict with the

²⁴ M.G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels. The Great Inquisition of 1245–6* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001). See also his important survey article, 'On Cathars, Albigenses and Good Men of Languedoc', *JMH*, 27 (2001), pp. 181–95.

²⁵ Geoffrey of Auxerre's letter to the chapter of Clairvaux, *PL*, 185, cols. 411–12; R. Manselli, 'Un designazione dell'eresia catara, *Ariana Haeresis*', *BISI*, 68 (1956), pp. 233–46; criticized by R.I. Moore, 'St. Bernard's mission to the Languedoc in 1145', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 47 (1974), pp. 1–10. The identification of Arians with Cathars is convincing because the first Cathar Bishop of Toulouse, Bernard Raimond, was known to his contemporaries as Bernard 'the Arian', William of Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ch. 2, ed. with French trans. J. Duvernoy (Paris, 1976), p. 28.

²⁶ Council of Tours Canon IV, in Mansi, XXI, p. 1177.

²⁷ See below, pp. 73–7.

²⁸ See above, p. 4.

²⁹ *Vita S. Galdini*, ch. 9, *AA SS Aprilis*, II, col. 592.

Western Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The emperor recognized as lawful pope Victor IV, who had been elected by one group of cardinals in the conclave of 1159 at which Alexander III had been elected by another group. After Victor's death in 1164 the emperor appointed imperial antipopes: Paschal III (1164–8), followed by Calixtus III (1168–78). Although most of the rest of the Western Church recognized Alexander III as lawful pope, most of the Western Empire acknowledged his rivals. The situation in Lombardy, Tuscany and the States of the Church was confused because for much of the time these territories were contested between papal and imperial supporters.³⁰ In such a context it was not possible to co-ordinate action against heresy, or even to exchange information about the forms which it was taking; for as is clear from Hugh Eteriano's correspondence, churchmen took seriously the prohibition about being in communion with the adherents of the rival pope and this extended to social as well as to ecclesiastical encounters.³¹

The long papal schism led to some uncertainty about the labelling of dualist heretics. Some members of the groups seem to have identified themselves as Cathars. This is in origin a Greek word, *katharoi*, meaning 'the pure' and presumably had been adopted by Byzantine Bogomils to signify that they alone conserved the Christian faith in its pure form.³² The name was not used by Orthodox theologians who wrote about the Bogomils, because in the Orthodox tradition *katharoi* referred to members of the Novatian Church.³³

³⁰ I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 460–99; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III. Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre* (Paris, 1956); P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa. A study in medieval politics* (London, 1969).

³¹ See the letter of Hugh of Honau to Hugh Eteriano, ed. Dondaine, 'Hugues Ethérien', pp. 128–30.

³² Duvernoy argued that the name Cathar was first given to the sect in German-speaking areas (it was first used by Eckbert of Schönau in 1163, see below n. 34), and that it was a latinization of the vernacular *Katter*, meaning 'the cats'. This name, he suggests, was given because the Cathars were popularly supposed to worship Lucifer in the form of a cat. He admits that this interpretation was first advanced by Alan of Lille, writing 1180–1202, as one possible explanation of the name Cathar. There is no support for this view in sources contemporary with Eckbert of Schönau and it seems more probable that the popular association of Cathars with cats developed as an explanation of an unfamiliar foreign word. Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, pp. 302–4.

³³ Canon 8 of the First Council of Nicaea, ed. and trans. N.P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. I. Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Washington and London, 1990), pp. 9–10.

The name Cathar was first applied to Western heretics in 1163 in the sermons of Eckbert of Schönau, who said that he had collected information about this sect while disputing with members of it while he was a canon of Bonn. He dedicated his set of sermons to Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, in the hope that this material would prove useful to him when examining Cathars brought before his court. Eckbert was aware that the Cathars were known by other names: 'These men are called Cathars in our own land of Germany, in Flanders they are known as *Piphles* and in France as *Texerant* because they practise weaving.'³⁴ Rainald of Dassel was Frederick Barbarossa's chancellor, and consequently Eckbert of Schönau's sermons did not circulate in the obedience of Alexander III until after the schism ended in 1177. In Languedoc the Cathars called themselves 'good men' (*bons hommes*), while the Catholic authorities at first continued to label them Arians.³⁵ In northern Italy the term Patarenes began to be used about heretics in the 1170s.³⁶

In 1177 Alexander III and the Emperor Frederick were reconciled at the Peace of Venice. The emperor recognized Alexander as lawful pope and withdrew his support from Calixtus III, and the schism was virtually at an end.³⁷ Alexander summoned the Third Lateran Council, which met in Rome in March 1179 and was attended by bishops from all over the Christian West, who were able to exchange information freely for the first time in eighteen years. One of their concerns was the spread of heresy, and they singled out one group whom they considered particularly dangerous. Canon 27 begins: 'For this reason, since in Gascony and the regions of Albi and Toulouse and in other places, the loathsome heresy of those whom some call Cathars, others Patarenes, others *Publicani*, and others by different names has grown so strong that they no longer practise their wickedness in secret, as others do, but proclaim their error

³⁴ Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones contra Catharos*, *PL*, 195, cols. 13–14.

³⁵ The dissidents examined at the Synod of Lombers in 1165 called themselves Good Men, *Acta Concilii Lumbariensis*, *RHGF*, XIV, p. 431. The men examined by the legatine Council of Toulouse in 1178 were described as supporters of the Arian heresy, Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, *RS*, 51 (4 vols.) (London, 1868–71), II, p. 150.

³⁶ See above, p. 4.

³⁷ Some groups in the States of the Church continued to support antipopes until 1180, but those schisms were strictly local in scope, F. Gregorovius, trans. A. Hamilton, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 8 vols. (in 12 parts) (London, 1894–1902), IV (ii), pp. 602–8.

publicly and draw the simple and weak to join them . . .³⁸ Evidently the prelates attending the Council had shared their information and concluded that Cathars and Patarenes were different names for adherents of the same movement. In 1184 Pope Lucius III and the Emperor Frederick I published a joint decree against heresy, known as *Ad abolendam* from its opening words *Ad abolendam diversarum haeresium pravitatem* ('In order to root out the wickedness of various heresies'). The heresies are then listed: 'We decree that [the following] shall be anathematised for ever: first the Cathars and Patarenes, then those who lyingly call themselves the *Humiliati*, and the Poor Men of Lyons [and also] the *Passagini*, the *Iosephini* and the *Arnaldistas*.³⁹ It may therefore be safely assumed that any Catholic heresiologist who used the term Patarene after 1179 must have supposed the group he was describing to be Cathars. Yet although the term may also have been used in that sense by Catholics writing before that date, this cannot be taken for granted unless there is other corroborative evidence.

Hugh Eteriano wrote the *Contra Patarenos* while he was living at Constantinople during the lifetime of the Emperor Manuel. This gives parameters of c. 1165–1180 for the work and it is probable that he was not asked to write it until after his reputation as a theologian had been established by his participation in the controversy of 1166.⁴⁰ If it were certain that the tract was written in the last year of Manuel's life (September 1179–September 1180), then it could safely be assumed that Hugh used the term Patarenes to mean Cathars. For Archbishop William of Tyre from the Crusader States, who had attended the Third Lateran Council in Rome, returned home by way of Constantinople because he had been charged with a diplomatic mission to the emperor. He spent the winter of 1179–80 at Manuel's court, where he would have met Hugh, and he could

³⁸ 'Eapropter quia in Gasconia, Albigesio et partibus Tolosanis et aliis locis, ita haereticorum, quos alii Catharos, alii Patrinos, alii Publicanos, alii aliis nominibus vocant, invaluit damnata perversitas, ut iam non in occulto, sicut aliqui nequitiam suam exercent, sed suum errorem publice manifestent et ad suum consensum simplices attrahant et infirmos . . .' ed. and tr. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, pp. 223–4.

³⁹ 'Imprimis ergo Catharos et Patarinos et eos, qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Iosephinos, Arnaldistas perpetuo decernimus anathemati subiacere.' E. Friedberg, ed., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1882), I, cols. 780–2.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 115–22.

have shown him the copy of the acts of the council, which he later deposited in the archive of his own cathedral.⁴¹ But such certainty about the date is lacking and therefore the title of the tract alone cannot be taken as evidence that it was written against the Cathars.

From internal evidence it seems clear that Hugh's treatise was directed against a group of dissidents drawn from the Latin-rite population of the capital. These were not casual visitors, but long-term residents, because all Hugh's specific references to matters of cult with which his readers will be familiar relate to Constantinople and not to the West. Thus he speaks of the eucharistic miracle known as the communion of Macedonius, which took place when St. John Chrysostom was Patriarch of Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Arcadius;⁴² he tells the edifying story of the conversion of the Jewish glassblower's son, which he sets in the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, when Menas was patriarch, in the reign of the Emperor Justinian;⁴³ he assumes that his readers will be familiar with the cult of the Mandylion of Edessa, brought to Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Romanus I and housed in the Blachernae Palace, where its feast was kept each year on 16 August.⁴⁴ The only Latin saints he mentions are Augustine and Jerome, whom he couples with the Greek doctors, Sts Gregory and John Chrysostom;⁴⁵ and although he refers to the miracles performed by the Roman deacon St. Laurence, Laurence also had a cult in Constantinople.⁴⁶ Throughout his work Hugh appeals to the united tradition of the Church of the Greeks and Latins.⁴⁷ That is a concept with which Latin-rite Christians living in Constantinople would have been very familiar. Hugh's work contains no reference to the rulings of any Western council and does not mention the authority of the pope. This is almost unparalleled in Western polemical writings of the twelfth century, but is explicable because Hugh was writing for an audience of Latin Christians living in the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

⁴¹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XXI, 25, XXII, 4, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols., *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63, 63A (Turnholt, 1986), II, pp. 996–8, 1009–11.

⁴² See below, pp. 168, 185.

⁴³ See below, pp. 169, 186.

⁴⁴ See below, pp. 171–3, 187–9.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 156, 177.

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 175, 191, 226–7.

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 204–5.

The Latin population of Constantinople in the twelfth century was substantial. Eustathius of Thessalonica, describing the city in 1182, writes of 'those members of the Latin race, who in accordance with long established custom, were set apart along the shores of the Golden Horn of Byzantion on the eastern side and were settled thickly there to the number of more than sixty thousand.'⁴⁸ This area included the privileged settlements of the Italian maritime cities, all of which had their own Latin-rite churches. One of the oldest of these was the Amalfitan monastery of Sta Maria Latina, founded in the 1060s and situated near the Pisan quarter.⁴⁹ A second Amalfitan monastery, that of St. Salvator, which existed in the eleventh century but is not recorded in later sources, may have been taken over by the Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which had a house in the city by 1163.⁵⁰

The Venetians had at least three churches, St. Acyndinus, St. Nicholas and St. Mark *de embulo*.⁵¹ The Pisans, who had obtained commercial privileges from Alexius I in 1111, had two churches by Manuel's reign, St. Nicholas and, after 1160, St. Peter's.⁵² The Genoese, who did not receive their trading privileges until 1155, were given the right to build a church, and later did so in the former palace of the Emperor Nicephorus III (1078–81). This church was an imposing building, described by Janin as 'une coupole soutenue par quatre colonnes de marbre blanc, les murs recouverts de plaques de marbre et au dessus des scènes de mosaïque; au milieu, un autel surmonté d'un baldaquin en bois doré avec quatre portes; sur la face de celle del'ouest il y avait l'icône du Christ. Le pavé était formé de plaques de marbre de diverses couleurs.'⁵³

It was not only the Western maritime powers which were granted quarters in the city. Paul Magdalino has drawn attention to a grant

⁴⁸ Eustathius of Thessalonica, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, ch. 28, trans. J.R. Melville Jones (Canberra, 1988), p. 35.

⁴⁹ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine. Pt. I. Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique, vol. III. Les églises et les monastères*, 2 edn. (Paris, 1969), pp. 570–1.

⁵⁰ A.T. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople', in M. Bull and N. Housley, ed., *The Experience of Crusading*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2003), I, pp. 225–32.

⁵¹ The Venetian church of Sta Maria *de embulo* is first mentioned in 1199, but may have been older, Janin, *Églises*, pp. 571–3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 573–4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

made in 1189 by the Emperor Isaac II to the Venetians of 'the *emboloi* and *skalai* in possession of the French and Germans. We do not know where these properties were situated. But it was probably to the west of the existing Venetian quarter. Nor do we know when the French and Germans acquired these lucrative concessions, but we can guess that it had something to do with the importance of France and Germany in the crusades and in the international diplomacy of the Comnenian emperors.⁵⁴ The Western Emperor Conrad III asked permission from John II in 1142 and from Manuel in 1145 to build a church for the use of Germans in Constantinople, but it is not known whether this was granted.⁵⁵

In addition, churches were built for other, smaller Western communities, such as that of St. Olaf, founded in the eleventh century for Norwegian residents and pilgrims,⁵⁶ and the English church of Sts Nicholas and Augustine of Canterbury said to have been built by refugees after the Norman conquest of 1066.⁵⁷

There was no restriction about where individual Latin Christians might live in Constantinople, although the largest number seems to have settled on the southern shore of the Golden Horn. Numerous scholars, diplomats, churchmen, mercenaries and pilgrims came to Constantinople from the West in the twelfth century and lived there for varying lengths of time,⁵⁸ and it was among this large western population that Hugh Eteriano's Patarenes were to be found.

The *memorandi quidem viri et spectabiles* who had commissioned Hugh to write his tract evidently did not associate the Patarenes with the Bogomils or with any other group of Byzantine heretics, otherwise they would have asked the Orthodox Patriarch to take action and not have had recourse to Hugh. They clearly supposed that the heresy had been introduced among the Latin-rite population of the capital from the West, and Hugh shared that view, describing the dissidents as Patarenes, the Tuscan name for heretics. He must have appeared the obvious choice to the Byzantines who asked him to undertake this work. There were no senior Latin clergy permanently

⁵⁴ P. Magdalino, 'The Maritime Neighbourhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries', *DOP*, 54 (2000), p. 223.

⁵⁵ Janin, *Églises*, p. 575.

⁵⁶ K.J. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962-1204* (Leiden, 1996), p. 126.

⁵⁷ Janin, *Églises*, p. 579.

⁵⁸ Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*.

resident in Constantinople. Pope Alexander III had authorized the Patriarch of Grado to appoint a bishop with authority over all the Venetian churches in the Byzantine Empire, but this suggestion was never acted upon.⁵⁹ The Cluniac brethren in the priory of Civetot near Nicomedia in Bithynia, founded under Alexius I Comnenus, who might have included men competent to address the problem of the Patarenes, had been evicted in the reign of John II, probably in 1138–9, and there is no evidence that they had been allowed to return in Manuel's reign.⁶⁰ Hugh Eteriano's reputation as a theologian had been established in Constantinople in 1166 through his participation in the debate about then meaning of Christ's saying, 'The Father is greater than I', during which the Emperor Manuel had been strongly influenced by his arguments in reaching a decision.⁶¹

At the time he wrote the *Contra Patarenos* Hugh, though a trained theologian, was not a priest. This affected the way in which he approached the problem in that he seems to have relied entirely on reports which he received about what these heretics taught, but not to have had any first-hand dealings with them. There is no indication in his work that he had held discussions with any of the Patarenes of Constantinople in an attempt to discover more about their beliefs. In this regard his approach differed considerably from that of his contemporary, Eckbert of Schönau, who wrote about the Cathars of the Rhineland: 'When I was a canon in the church of Bonn, I and my close friend Bertolph often argued with such men [i.e. the heretics] and I carefully considered their erroneous teachings and the ways in which they defended them. They [read: we] also learnt many things from those who had abandoned their sect and had freed themselves from the snares of the Devil.'⁶² Hugh's work lacks any comparable element of pastoral concern and is not animated by a desire to save souls, but by a wish to demonstrate the falsity of certain theological propositions.

⁵⁹ G.W. Day, 'Italian Churches in the Byzantine Empire to 1204', *Catholic Historical Review*, 70 (1984), p. 384.

⁶⁰ *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, nos. 75, 76, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), I, pp. 208–10, II, pp. 148–9.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 115–21.

⁶² 'Cum essem canonicus in ecclesia Bunnensi, saepe ego et unanimes meus Bertolphus, cum talibus attercati sumus, et diligenter attendi errores eorum ac defensiones. Multa quoque de illis innotuerunt, per eos qui exierant de conventiculis eorum et resipuerant a laqueis diaboli'. Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones, Praefatio, PL*, 195, 13–14.

It is difficult to identify Hugh's Patarenes with certainty because he does not accuse them of dualist belief and also because many of the errors which he does attribute to them were matters of general debate in the twelfth-century West. He criticizes the Patarenes under eight main heads. The fact that they preach secretly in conventicles is, he maintains, a certain sign that they are not preaching the true Gospel, because if they were they would have nothing to hide.⁶³ This practice also explains, of course, why Hugh knows comparatively little about their teachings. He next condemns the Patarenes because 'they affirm that if a priest is a sinner he cannot validly celebrate Mass, his priestly powers are ineffective, and his power of binding and loosing [the sins of penitents] is invalid and corrupted'.⁶⁴ Presumably the heretics also rejected the teaching authority of the Catholic and Orthodox clergy for the same reason, because they were sinners. Hugh implies this, for he opens this section of his work with Christ's injunction: 'The scribes and pharisees sit on Moses' seat, so practise and observe whatever they tell you; but not what they do'.⁶⁵ The debate about whether the unworthiness of the minister hindered the validity of the sacraments was a very lively one in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In Canon 3 of the Lateran Synod of 1059 Pope Nicholas II had enacted: 'Nobody shall be present at the Mass of a priest who is known to be living in concubinage . . . The holy synod has decreed under pain of excommunication . . . that any priest, deacon or subdeacon . . . who publicly lives with a concubine . . . may not sing Mass, read the Gospel or the Epistle, nor may he remain in the choir to sing the Divine Office with those who shall have obeyed this ruling, nor may such men receive income from the church until sentence has been passed on them about this matter by us, with the help of God.'⁶⁶ Some of those who supported the reform movement also applied this injunction to the ministrations of simoniac clergy: the Patarenes of Milan were among those who did so.⁶⁷ The priest Ramihrdus of Cambrai, who was burnt alive by his fellow clergy for teaching that the laity should boycott the Masses of concubinary priests and who had refused to receive Holy Com-

⁶³ See below, pp. 156-7, 177-8.

⁶⁴ See below, pp. 158, 178.

⁶⁵ Matt., 23:2.

⁶⁶ Mansi, XIX, 897-8.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 3.

munion from clergy whom he believed to be guilty of simony, was judged to have acted correctly by Pope Gregory VII.⁶⁸

The reformers were not claiming that sacraments celebrated by clergy guilty of simony and concubinage were invalid, only that the faithful should treat such priests as though they had been excommunicated and not join with them in any public act of worship. But this rigorist position, which was completely orthodox, could very easily take a more extreme and heterodox form. Henry of Le Mans, who in 1116–17 had preached in that city with a license from Bishop Hildebert and had attacked the sins of the clergy, in later life, having broken away from the Church, was said to have taught that: ‘The Body of Christ cannot be consecrated by an unworthy minister,’ though ‘Mass may be sung and Christ’s Body consecrated provided that anyone can be found worthy to do so’. He is also alleged to have taught that ‘Priests of today do not have the power to bind and loose, for they are stripped of that power by having criminally sinned’.⁶⁹ Even writers of impeccable orthodoxy could make pronouncements about unworthy ministers which were not very different from those of heretical reformers. Thus Hugh’s older contemporary, the respected theologian Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1092/3–1169), stated: ‘The Body of Christ is offered only in church where Mass is celebrated [in accordance with] the ecclesiastical rite by Catholic priests. Simoniacs, those suspended by excommunication, and concubinary priests, together with other sacred ministers who are openly living in incestuous relationships, are not reckoned among their number.’⁷⁰ Although the Church’s official teaching was that sacraments celebrated by unworthy priests, though uncanonical, were nevertheless valid, and although it condemned heretics who denied that this

⁶⁸ J.B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 43–4; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 411, 562.

⁶⁹ For Henry’s activities at Le Mans: *Acta pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru, *Archives historiques du Maine*, II (Le Mans, 1901), pp. 407–15; for his later teaching, R. Manselli, ‘Il monaco Enrico e la sua eresia’, *BISI*, 65 (1953), pp. 44–63. This passage is cited in the translation of W.L. Wakefield and A.P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages. Selected Sources translated and annotated* (New York and London, 1969), pp. 116–117.

⁷⁰ ‘In ecclesia sola corpus Christi praesentatur ubi a sacerdotibus catholicis missa ritu ecclesiastico celebratur. In quorum consortio non reputantur simoniaci, et sub excommunicatione interdicti; Nicholaitae videlicet sacerdotes et reliqui altaris ministri manifeste incestuosi’, *De Gloria et honore filii hominis*, ch. xiv, *PL*, 194, 1123.

was so, much uncertainty clearly existed on this score in orthodox circles.

It was only in the thirteenth century that scholastic theologians clarified the issue by explaining that a sacrament was valid if three conditions were met: the right matter must be used (bread and wine in the case of the Mass); the right form must be observed (this meant that Mass should be celebrated using an authorized liturgical rite); and the celebrant must have the right intention (that is, he must intend to do what the Church intends should be done when this ritual is performed). Provided that those conditions were met the Mass was considered valid *ex opere operato*, by virtue of the action, and the worthiness of the minister was not relevant.⁷¹ In the twelfth century this doctrine had not been clearly defined and that was a cause of anxiety to the devout. A Catholic monk who debated this issue with Henry of Le Mans in 1133–5 expressed the problem in this way: ‘For you say, “Mass may be sung and Christ’s Body consecrated provided anyone can be found worthy to do so”; thus enjoining us to discover an imaginary person who never can be found, because no one is without sin.’⁷²

Because of widespread confusion about Catholic teaching on this matter, the issue of unworthy priests and the validity of their sacraments was an obvious point of criticism to be levelled against the Catholic establishment by any dissenting group. This was true of those who, like Henry of Le Mans, wished to reform the Church, and also of more radical critics such as the Cathars, who wished to abolish it and replace Catholicism by their own faith. There is no doubt that this range of criticism proved effective. William of Puy-laurens comments on the impact which such criticisms, made by the reformist Waldensians and the radical Cathars, had had on the public image of the Catholic priesthood in late twelfth-century Languedoc: ‘Parish priests were held in such contempt by lay people, that some of them began to refer to them [with scorn] when taking an oath, for they said: “I would rather be a parish priest than do this or that.”’⁷³

⁷¹ A full account of how eucharistic theology was understood in the late twelfth century is found in the work written by Innocent III before he became pope in 1198, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, *PL*, 217, 273–916.

⁷² Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 116–117.

⁷³ ‘Capellani in tanto contemptu habebantur a laicis, quod eorum nomen . . . in iuramentum a pluribus sumebatur; ut . . . sic dicebatur: “Mallem esse, quam hoc aut illud facerem, capellanus.”’ William of Puy-laurens, *Chronica*, p. 24.

Hugh censured the Patarenes because they refused to take oaths. They based their objections on the prohibitions made by Christ and St. James, but Hugh refuted their interpretation of these passages by citing many Biblical instances of divinely sanctioned oath-taking.⁷⁴ Having set out his authorities, Hugh adds, almost as an afterthought, ‘si forte ad huc miserabiles et infatuati homines posita superiora testimonia dicant non esse recipienda eo quod de veteri lege sumpta sint...’⁷⁵ The rejection by the Patarenes of the Old Testament is obviously a serious doctrinal point, which Hugh goes on to refute. Nevertheless, throughout his tract he uses Old Testament authorities to disprove his opponents’ arguments, without appearing to realise that this is a pointless exercise because the Patarenes do not accept such proofs as authoritative. This shows that he is not concerned about converting them to Catholic belief, but merely desires to supply their Catholic or Orthodox opponents with arguments to use against them.

There is no evidence that the acceptance of the Old Testament as a divinely inspired book was regarded as controversial by most people in the twelfth century. In both the Catholic and Orthodox traditions it was understood as a divinely inspired prophecy, fortelling the coming of Jesus and the Christian dispensation. The mass of lay people, who could not read, nevertheless knew some of the Old Testament stories, such as the Creation of the World and Noah’s flood, and did not see any conflict between the God depicted in them and the God revealed in the teaching of Christ. That dichotomy between the primitive God, described particularly in the historical books of the Old Testament, and the God of love revealed by Christ had troubled Marcion and other heterodox thinkers in the Early Church, but only remained a living issue in the central Middle Ages among Christian dualists.⁷⁶

Hugh then condemns the Patarenes’ attitude to marriage: ‘Sed in sacramento coniugii pessima opinione nacti sunt, dicentes omnem coniugium debere fieri repudium’. From his account it would appear

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 159–62, 179–82.

⁷⁵ See below, pp. 163, 182.

⁷⁶ E.C. Blackman, *Marcion and his Influence* (London, 1948). The consensus view in the medieval Church was that the Old Testament was a prophecy of the Christian dispensation, H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l’Écriture* (Paris, 1959–64).

that the Patarenes not only objected to the institution of marriage but also regarded all human sexual activity as sinful. 'Si absque peccato non posset sic concubitus coniugalis', he writes, 'non precipisset Dominus post diluvium eas copulari, dicens "crescite et multiplicamini"', cum iam sine carnali concupiscentia non possent permisceri.⁷⁷ There was, of course, an almost universally held belief in the Catholic and Orthodox Churches that the monastic life, and the vow of chastity which formed part of it, was not simply a different form of Christian vocation from the lay life, but also a superior one. It is also true that some canon lawyers created the impression that almost all forms of sexual activity were sinful.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the official teaching of the universal Church had always recognized marriage as a legitimate part of lay religious practice and by the twelfth century it was accepted as one of the sacraments, and, indeed, was considered to be the only 'natural' sacrament ordained by God when He first created human beings.⁷⁹ One consequence of this was that in Western Europe the Church authorities began to interfere more often in the arrangement of marriages; seeking, for example, to enforce the severe laws prohibiting marriage within the sixth degree of affinity.⁸⁰ This caused considerable resentment, which could easily turn from an impatience with the restrictions of canon law into a questioning of the value of the sacrament. Robert Moore has argued, almost certainly correctly, that such resentment was an important element in the success which Henry of Le Mans enjoyed among the laity of that city during his mission of 1116.⁸¹ There were therefore various levels of uncertainty among the laity about how far marriage was compatible with the life of Christian perfection, as well as widespread discontent about the ways in which the Church was currently seeking to regulate the institution of marriage.

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 165–6, 183.

⁷⁸ J. Brundage, *Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), and *Law, Sex and Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987).

⁷⁹ References to God's blessing of Adam and Eve (Gen. 2:24) are found in the earliest rites of Christian marriage blessing. E.g. in the Gelasian Sacramentary the priest prays to God for the husband and wife: 'Nuptias eorum sicuti primi hominis confirmare dignare', L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution*, trans. M.L. McLure (London, 1919), p. 433. J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'église depuis le décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)* (Paris, 1933).

⁸⁰ C.E. Smith, *Papal Enforcement of some medieval marriage laws* (Louisiana, 1940).

⁸¹ Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, pp. 83–90.

Hugh also condemned the Patarenes because they did not believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist: 'asserunt etiam post benedictionem panem remanere ut prius fuerat'.⁸² He does not tell us how they interpreted the New Testament accounts of the institution of this sacrament, but only reports the reasons they gave for rejecting the Catholic explanation of what took place during Mass, when the bread and wine were consecrated. 'O Patarene . . . dicis 'Quo modo verus sanguis, quo vera caro? Non video similitudines carnis, non video similitudinem sanguinis'.⁸³ There was considerable argument among western theologians in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries about how the nature of the change in the eucharistic elements was effected, which was only finally resolved in 1215 when the Fourth Lateran Council defined the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁸⁴ The earlier debate had been conducted in terms of Aristotelian categories, seeking to distinguish between the appearance of material objects, in this case bread and wine, and their true nature, the Body and Blood of Christ. Most lay people, and indeed most clergy, who had not received a scholastic training, were unable to grasp such distinctions. Some of them seem to have supposed that the change of bread and wine into Christ's Body and Blood by the consecration at Mass would produce a visible change in their appearance and were troubled when this did not happen.⁸⁵ Hugh's Patarenes were therefore addressing what was quite widely perceived as a problem by lay people.

Hugh Eteriano was profoundly shocked that the Patarenes would not venerate images: 'quoque ac cultu sacrarum ymaginum quos dicunt esse simulacra surda et muta omnino aberraverunt'.⁸⁶ It seems doubtful whether the Patarenes were playing on any commonly held uncertainty among Latin Christians in this regard. There was no history in the Western Church at that time of antipathy to the use

⁸² See below, pp. 165, 183.

⁸³ See below, pp. 166, 184.

⁸⁴ G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984).

⁸⁵ A. Murray drew attention to the continuation of this problem into the late thirteenth-century and to its prevalence, described in the sermons of the Dominican, Giordano of Pisa (fl. c. 1280–c. 1310), in an unpublished paper, 'Was religious doubt regarded as a sin in the Middle Ages?', citing E. Narducci, ed., *Prediche inedite del b. Giordano da Rivalto* (Bologna, 1867), pp. 102–7.

⁸⁶ See below pp. 165, 183.

of, or reverence for, religious images. In the Byzantine world the Iconoclast Emperors of the eighth and ninth centuries had sought to suppress the reverence paid to the likenesses of Christ and the saints and angels, but they had been unsuccessful. Theologians like Hugh would have known about Iconoclasm through the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea at which it was condemned. There is no evidence that after the final restoration of the icons by the Empress-regent Theodora in 843 their central place in the devotional life of Orthodox Christians was ever challenged on a popular level.⁸⁷ It is possible that Hugh refuted this Patarene tenet at such length because he hoped in this way to gain the support of the imperial authorities against the sect, for he built his argument round the Mandyllion of Edessa, the likeness of Christ, believed to have been made by Christ Himself, which was kept in the Blachernae Palace, where its cult formed part of the imperial ritual year.⁸⁸

The final criticism which Hugh makes of the Patarenes is that they will not honour the Holy Cross, or make the sign of the cross. Again, although some earlier heretical groups in both East and West had held similar views,⁸⁹ there is no evidence that such opinions were at all popular. Hugh reports that the Patarenes defended their stance about this by saying: 'si asine non exhibetur reverentia, eo quod Christus super asinam sederit, neque dandus cruci honor ex eo quod idem Christus in ea confixus fuerit'. In addition they asserted: 'Rursum sicut neque typo lanceae vel calami, aut spine, vel clavi, seu spongie, quamquam et hec sancta sunt, vultus signantur credencium, sic et cruci figura signari superstitiosum est'.⁹⁰ These read like defences made by the Patarenes against the criticisms of lay people who were surprised that they did not venerate images or cross themselves as everybody else did. The Patarenes do not appear to

⁸⁷ A. Bryer and J. Herrin, *Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977); J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 30–68.

⁸⁸ See below, pp. 170–3, 187–9.

⁸⁹ The Paulicians 'blaspheme the Holy Cross, saying "Christ is the cross; it is not right to worship wood because it is a cursed tool"'. Peter the Higuemenos, *Epitome*, ch. 13, ed. C. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papa-cryssanthou and J. Paramelle, *T & M* 4 (1970), p. 88; Peter of Bruys taught that crosses should be destroyed because it was wrong to venerate replicas of the instrument which caused Christ's death, Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobusianos*, trans. Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 120.

⁹⁰ See below, pp. 173, 189–90.

have revealed their true objections to such devotional acts, or, if they did, Hugh was not aware of them.

Hugh's general comments about the sect are not very helpful as a means of identifying it. He tells us that it is not a local group, found only in Constantinople, but is dispersed 'non modo de partibus Elespontiacis verum de orbe universo'.⁹¹ He adds that the Patarenes have broken the imperial law and are worthy of capital punishment: 'capitis diminutione suspendio et incendio digni sunt'.⁹² This shows that he is aware that some kinds of heresy incur the death penalty under Byzantine law,⁹³ though he seems uncertain whether those penalties would apply to the Patarenes because he concludes his treatise with the pious hope that those who read it may persuade the emperor that 'nigra theta perditissime hominum secte frontibus infigi iubeat', that is, that they should be branded as those found worthy of death.⁹⁴

Although the normal reaction of a medieval theologian confronted by a dissenting group was to try to identify their belief system with that of some earlier heresy, Hugh does not do this. It is true that on two occasions he likens the Patarenes to Manichees. He cites St. Paul on the divine inspiration of the Old Testament and adds 'in quo patenter Manicheos Patarenos et omnes qui veterem legem accusant confutat'.⁹⁵ He also comments: 'Forsitan Patarene dicit ut Manicheus si asine non exhibetur reverentia, eo quod Christus super asinam sederit, neque dandus cruci honor ex eo quod idem Christus in ea confixus fuerit'.⁹⁶ In both passages, although he compares the Patarenes to Manichees, Hugh does not say that they are Manichees.

He expresses his own opinion of the Patarenes in very general terms. They are *pseudo-apostoli*⁹⁷ and 'a lleviathan tortuoso serpente missi sunt ad predicandum, et antichristi preambuli contradicentes mandatis Christi, transfigurando se in angelos lucis, cum vere sunt angeli sathane'.⁹⁸ In this passage Hugh seems to be echoing St. Paul's warning to Timothy: 'Now the Spirit expressly says that in later

⁹¹ See below, pp. 155, 177.

⁹² See below, pp. 155, 177.

⁹³ See below, p. 195.

⁹⁴ See below, pp. 176, 192.

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 164, 183.

⁹⁶ See below, pp. 173, 189.

⁹⁷ See below, pp. 163, 182.

⁹⁸ See below, pp. 157, 178.

times some will depart from the faith by giving heed to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons . . . [Forbidding] marriage and [enjoining] abstinence from foods which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth.⁹⁹ Yet though Hugh may have considered the Patarenes to be precursors of Antichrist, he could not build too strongly on that argument, because although they disparaged marriage they did not condemn the eating of meat (at least, Hugh does not accuse them of doing so). Finally, Hugh describes the Patarenes as being excommunicated,¹⁰⁰ but by this he may merely mean that by teaching doctrines contrary to Catholic truth they have incurred *ipso facto* excommunication. There is no independent evidence that at the time Hugh was writing this group had been formally excommunicated by the Church authorities in Constantinople.

Since the name Patarene, which Hugh uses to describe the heretics he is attacking, may have been used in a general sense by him to mean heretic, it is necessary to look at the heresies which were prevalent in the West at that time to see whether any of them have all the characteristics of the sect which Hugh describes. The constitution *Ad abolendam* of 1184 is helpful in this regard for in it Pope Lucius III, with the support of the Emperor Frederick I, lists the important heresies prevalent in the Western Church at that time: 'We condemn by apostolic authority all heresy, by whatever name it is known, listed in this decree. First the Cathars and Patarenes, and those who falsely describe themselves as the *Humiliati* and the Poor Men of Lyons, [also] the *Passagini*, the *Josephini* and the *Arnaldistas*; we decree that they shall all be subject to a perpetual anathema.'¹⁰¹

Hugh's Patarenes were clearly not *Humiliati*, for as Frances Andrews has shown, the supporters of that movement were completely orthodox and were only labelled heretical because their reforming plans, for a time, brought them into conflict with the Catholic hierarchy in Lombardy.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ I Tim. 4:1,3.

¹⁰⁰ See below, pp. 163, 182.

¹⁰¹ 'Omnem haeresim, quocunque nomine censeatur, per huius constitutionis seriem auctoritate apostolica condemnamus. Imprimis ergo Catharos et Patarinos et eos, qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Iosephinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemati subiacere.' Friedberg, *Corpus I*, col. 780.

¹⁰² F. Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge, 1999).

The Patarenes of Constantinople were not attached to the movement of the Poor Men of Lyons either. That was another name for the Waldensians. Valdès, the founder of that movement, was entirely orthodox and wished to preach the Christian faith to the poor in his native city of Lyons and in the surrounding region. A group of his followers, perhaps led by Valdès himself, went to Rome at the time of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 and obtained the sanction of Alexander III for their work, provided that they obtained preaching licenses from the local hierarchy. The refusal of the new Archbishop of Lyons, John aux Belles-Mains (1181–1193), to renew their licenses, and their unwillingness to accept his ban, led to their excommunication, which was ratified by Lucius III in *Ad abolendam*. Thus quite apart from the fact that there is no evidence that Waldensian preachers had reached Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Manuel, even had they done so they would have been operating with papal approval at the time when Hugh was writing; their heterodoxy only developed in the years after their excommunication. Moreover, unlike the dissidents whom Hugh describes, the Poor Men of Lyons accepted the Old Testament as divinely inspired, believed marriage to be ordained by God, and could never be accused of preaching in secret, since the issue which drove them into schism was their determination to preach publicly even without a bishop's license.¹⁰³

The group described by Hugh were not *Passagini*, or Passagians, either, since the members of that movement sought to persuade Christians that the observances of the Old Testament were binding on them also: these included circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath (i.e. Saturday) as a holy day; and the ban on eating non-kosher meat.¹⁰⁴ Obviously Hugh's Patarenes, who rejected the Old Testament, would have had nothing in common with that group.

The *Arnaldistas* were the heirs of Arnold of Brescia, a reformer who had begun by attacking the worldliness of the Church, but who had ended by challenging the pope's right to temporal jurisdiction in the city of Rome and the States of the Church. He was hanged

¹⁰³ G. Audisio, trans. C. Davison, *The Waldensian Dissent. Persecution and Survival, c. 1170–c. 1570* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 6–25.

¹⁰⁴ N. Garvin and J.A. Corbett, ed., *The 'Summa contra Haereticos' ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona*, Publications in Medieval Studies, 15 (Notre-Dame, 1955), pp. 75–164; R. Manselli, 'I Passagini' *BISI*, 75 (1963), pp. 189–210.

as a rebel by the prefect of Rome in 1155. Otto of Freising accused him of holding unsound views on baptism and the Eucharist, though it is not clear in what ways they were unorthodox.¹⁰⁵ Bonacursus of Milan, writing between 1176–90, accused the *Arnaldistas* of teaching that apostolic poverty was a necessary, not an optional, part of the Christian life, and that sinful clergy had no right to administer the sacraments.¹⁰⁶ Except in the matter of rejecting the sacraments of sinful ministers, which was a widely discussed issue at the time even in orthodox circles, there is no overlap in the teaching of the *Arnaldistas* and that of the Patarenes described by Hugh.

Almost nothing is known about the *Josephini*. A thirteenth-century German writer speaks of a group of *Josephistae* who extolled spiritual marriage but condemned the sexual consummation of marriage. If their identification with the *Josephini* is accepted, then they would have taken their name from St. Joseph, foster-father of Jesus. Fr. Ilarino da Milano considers that the evidence is too slight for this assumption to be made with any degree of conviction, and if that is so then nothing at all is known about the beliefs of this group.¹⁰⁷

The only group of contemporary Western heretics mentioned in *Ad Abolendam* who share all the characteristics attributed by Hugh to the Patarenes of Constantinople are the Cathars.

2. *The Christian dualist context of the Contra Patarenos*

Although Hugh Eteriano does not accuse the Patarenes of dualism, the characteristics which he ascribes to them are not incompatible with Catharism. His first criticism, that the Patarenes teach in secret, is a common charge made against Cathars, that they will publicly express their faith in orthodox terms, while expounding their true beliefs only to those who show commitment to their faith.¹⁰⁸ His sec-

¹⁰⁵ 'Preter haec de sacramento altaris, baptismo parvulorum, non sane dicitur sensisse', Otto of Freising, *Gesta Fridrici I imperatoris*, ch. xxviii, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1912), p. 133.

¹⁰⁶ Ilarino da Milano, 'La Manifestatio heresis catarorum quam fecit Bonacursus secondo il Cod. Ottob. Lat. 136 della Biblioteca Vaticana' in his *Eresie Medioevali. Scritti Minori*, (Rimini, 1983), pp. 174–94; M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 3 edn. (Oxford, 2002), pp. 59–61.

¹⁰⁷ Ilarino da Milano, *L'eresia di Ugo Speroni nella confutazione del Maestro Vacario, Studi e Testi*, 115 (Vatican City, 1945), pp. 457–60.

¹⁰⁸ See below, p. 71.

ond charge, that the Patarenes claimed that sinful Catholic clergy could not celebrate valid Masses or absolve penitents, was a common feature of Cathar polemic against the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁹ In their view the Catholic Church was a false church and they applied to its clergy Christ's warning: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. You will know them by their fruits'.¹¹⁰ In fairness it should be said that the Cathars applied equally rigorous standards to the conduct of their own ministers.¹¹¹

Hugh's third charge, that the Patarenes refuse to take oaths, was also true of the Cathars. This is explicitly stated in their rite of *consolamentum*. In the *Ritual* of Lyons, used by the Cathars of Southern France, the presiding minister exhorted the candidate before he conferred the sacrament: 'You must keep all the commandments of Christ and of the New Testament as far as you are able. Understand, therefore, that He has commanded that man should not commit adultery, or murder, or tell lies; he should not swear an oath, or steal or be a robber.'¹¹² The parallel admonition in the Latin text of the *Ritual* used by some of the Italian Cathars is even more insistent on this point: 'Moreover, you must make this vow and this promise to God: that you will never commit murder, adultery or theft, either publicly or in private, and that you will not of your own volition take an oath for any reason, not even in matters of life and death.'¹¹³ Even though they were sometimes prepared to express their heterodox beliefs in orthodox terminology, the Cathars were never willing to affirm such statements with an oath.¹¹⁴

Hugh's fourth charge against the Patarenes, that they repudiated marriage, was also characteristic of Cathars, who regarded all sexual activity as inherently evil because they considered it was the mechanism which the powers of evil had devised to imprison angelic souls in their material creation.¹¹⁵ The Cathars found the Catholic

¹⁰⁹ Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, pp. 227–33.

¹¹⁰ Matt. 7:15–16.

¹¹¹ See above, pp. 71–2.

¹¹² L. Clédât, *Le Nouveau Testament traduit au XIII^e siècle en langue provençale, suivi d'un Rituel Cathare* (Paris, 1887), p. xix.

¹¹³ *Rituel Cathare*, ed. with French trans. C. Thouzellier, SC 236 (Paris, 1977), pp. 248–50.

¹¹⁴ See below, p. 72.

¹¹⁵ Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, pp. 64–8, 178–84.

concept, that in marriage sexuality could become a means of grace, particularly offensive for that reason.¹¹⁶

Hugh's fifth charge, that the Patarenes do not believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated elements at the Mass, is true of all Cathars, because the Catholic doctrine is based on a belief in Christ's Incarnation which the Cathars rejected. If, as the Cathars taught, Christ was only present among men during his earthly ministry in a spiritual body, then he could not be physically present in the sacrament of the altar.¹¹⁷ Hugh reports that the Patarenes rejected Catholic eucharistic teaching because they could see no change in the appearance of the bread and wine after consecration. This was no doubt an accurate representation of the argument which they used against the Catholic belief, and it had a popular resonance,¹¹⁸ but Hugh does not record how the Cathars themselves understood the eucharistic texts of the New Testament, which they accepted as divinely inspired. James Capelli gives the fullest explanation of how the Cathars understood the Last Supper narratives:

They recount that the bread which Christ blessed and broke at the Last Supper was his body only in token, not by change . . . But since the words were spoken to the disciples: 'Do this whenever you shall eat for a commemoration of me', for that reason they have a similar custom, for they believe themselves to be the successors of the Apostles. At the times that they eat or drink, once all the foodstuffs are on the table and everyone standing around it, the oldest among them takes bread, giving thanks and saying the Lord's Prayer, and distributes to each a small portion to be eaten. There are various views about this

¹¹⁶ The fairest Catholic comment about Cathar views of human sexuality is found in the treatise attributed to James Capelli, where it is admitted that they really did practise the degree of sexual continence which they preached. James Capelli, *Summa contra haereticos*, trans. Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 305–6. This version is cited because Wakefield and Evans have corrected the published text of Bazzocchi by collating it with the Cesena manuscript on which it was based and have produced a more accurate version. D. Bazzocchi, *La eresia catara: Saggio storico-filosofico con in appendice "Disputationes nonnullae adversus haereticos"*, codice inedito de secolo XIII della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena (Bologna, 1919, 1920).

¹¹⁷ Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, pp. 83–7.

¹¹⁸ A. Murray, in his unpublished paper 'Was religious doubt regarded as a sin in the Middle Ages?' has drawn attention to the penitential manual of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (b. c.1170, d. 1253), *Regulae de modo examinanda penitentes et confitendi*: 'The penitent is to be examined diligently in these articles [of faith], to see that he believes firmly in the power of the sacraments and has an unfeigned faith in the other articles; particularly, if he is a layman, in the resurrection of the human body and the sacrament of the altar. For many people are extremely hesitant about these two matters.' Oxford, St. John's College, MS 190, f. 130r.

custom among them. Some of them say that the purpose of the act is to ward off contamination from partaking of food, for they believe foods to be evil by having origin from the earth . . . Certain others, however, say that this is done only in commemoration of the death of Christ, although they do not believe that he really died, and they do in imitation just what he had done.¹¹⁹

This is the clearest explanation that we have of Cathar eucharistic practice, although the ceremony which James describes is very fully attested in a wide range of sources.¹²⁰

Hugh complained that the Patarenes would not pay reverence to religious images, and this charge is entirely compatible with Catharism, for the Cathars regarded all material objects as intrinsically evil. Moneta of Cremona reported that all the schools of Italian Cathars in the thirteenth century rejected the use of religious images together with the veneration of the Cross.¹²¹

Hugh also charged the Patarenes with rejecting the Holy Cross. The Cathars too rejected the Cross, because it was part of the material creation. It was a matter about which they felt very strongly: 'They say that the Cross is the mark of the beast which is written in the Apocalypse and is the abomination standing in the holy place', wrote Bonacursus of Milan, a Cathar convert to Catholicism, writing in the late twelfth century.¹²² The reference to the Apocalypse is to the Beast from the Land, which 'had two horns like a lamb and it spoke like a dragon . . . And it causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and bond, to be marked on the right hand or the forehead, so that no one can buy or sell unless he has the mark, that is the name of the beast, or the number of its name'.¹²³ This explains why the Cathars not only refused to reverence the Cross, but also why they refused to make the sign of the cross. Hugh reports that the Patarenes used rational arguments to justify their objections, but these may mask their true objections which sprang from a dualist cosmology.

Hugh accuses the Patarenes of rejecting the Old Testament. Again, this was true of the Cathars, who, with the exception of John of

¹¹⁹ Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 304–5.

¹²⁰ Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, pp. 212–216.

¹²¹ Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, Bk., V. ch. viii, § x, ed. T.A. Ricchini (Rome, 1743), p. 460.

¹²² *Manifestatio haeresis Catharorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, PL, 204, 777.

¹²³ Rev. 13:11, 16–17.

Lugio and his followers in thirteenth-century Lombardy, refused to accept the whole of the Bible as inspired. Mitigated dualists rejected the Old Testament in its entirety, while absolute dualists accepted the Wisdom literature and the prophets, but rejected the Pentateuch and the other historical books.¹²⁴

It should also be noted, that just as Hugh did not apparently know that the Patarenes were dualists, even so the early Cathars were very reluctant to make their dualist beliefs public. They found it possible to conceal them because they exercised a two-fold ministry. When talking to people who were not familiar with their teaching they posed as reformers who held the true Christian faith but were critical of the ways in which the Catholic authorities implemented it. This often evoked a sympathetic response from their audience; and their preaching was sincere, for they really did believe the traditional Christian faith set out in the New Testament, but they understood it in a different way from the established Churches of East and West. It was only to those who had shown themselves committed to their faith and who were desirous of receiving spiritual baptism, that the Cathars revealed their heterodox interpretation of Christianity, which was dualist.¹²⁵

Two examples from the twelfth century demonstrate the success with which the Cathars concealed their dualist beliefs from the Catholic authorities. The Cathar bishop, together with other members of his flock, who were brought to trial at Cologne in 1143 did not admit to being dualists. Eberwin of Steinfeld who examined them reports only that they claimed to be representatives of the true Church, condemned the Catholic hierarchy as 'false apostles', had their own rite of spiritual baptism, applied Christ's eucharistic teaching to the blessing of their daily food, and condemned marriage, but would not explain why.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Rainier Sacconi, a well-informed Cathar prelate, converted to Catholicism, reports that absolute dualists believe 'quod dyabolus fuit actor tocius veteri testamenti exceptis illis libris: Iob, Psalterio, Libris Salomonis, Sapientie, Ihesu filii Syrac, Ysaie, Ieremie, Ezechiel, Daniel et XII prophetarum'; that John of Lugio 'recipit totam Bibliam, sed putat eam fuisse scriptam in alio mundo'; and that the mitigated dualists 'reprobant totum vetus testamentum, putantes quod dyabolus fuit actor eius', Rainier Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, ed. F. Sanjek, *AFP* 44 (1974), pp. 51–2, 56, 58. For the terms 'mitigated' and 'absolute' dualist see pp. 36, 54 below.

¹²⁵ See below pp. 71–2.

¹²⁶ Letter to St. Bernard, no. CDLXXII, *PL*, 182, 672–80; see above, p. 5.

Similarly, the Good Men brought before the Synod of Lombers in 1165 were not accused of dualism, but refused to answer questions about their understanding of the Christian faith. Like Hugh Eteriano's Patarenes, they did not accept the Old Testament, had unorthodox views about marriage and the Eucharist, denounced as ravening wolves the Catholic prelates who passed judgment on them, and refused to swear an oath. There seems no reasonable doubt that they were Cathars.¹²⁷ This raises the problem of why, if the Patarenes of Constantinople were Cathars, a Western branch of the Bogomils, neither Hugh, nor the Byzantine authorities were aware of this.

There is no evidence that at the time when Hugh was writing the *Contra Patarenos* Pope Alexander III and his curia or the bishops who legislated against Catharism at the Third Lateran Council had any suspicion that this new heresy had originated in the Byzantine world. Certainly nothing was known by the papacy about the Bogomil heresy which had originated in Bulgaria in the tenth century and spread into the Greek-speaking lands of Byzantium, and whose leader in Constantinople, the doctor Basil, had been put on trial and burnt at the stake by the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus in c. 1098–1103.¹²⁸ One consequence of this ignorance was that Bogomilism did not figure in the lists of earlier heresies known to Western theologians. Robert Moore has rightly drawn attention to the way in which heresy was described as a disease by medieval Western churchmen.¹²⁹ As a result of this, heresiologists were seldom interested in the history of dissident movements. Like good doctors, their primary concern was to study the symptoms, identify the illness and treat the patient in ways which had proved effective before. They were not interested in how the disease had been transmitted.

A striking instance of this attitude is provided by Eckbert of Schönau who wrote the first detailed account of Catharism in 1163. Working in the province of Cologne, he almost certainly had access to the report of the trial conducted there by Eberwin of Steinfeld

¹²⁷ See below, pp. 70–2.

¹²⁸ D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: a study in Balkan neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948); Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 161–83; J. and B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, provide English translations of the most important sources. On the date of the trial see Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 485–6.

¹²⁹ R.I. Moore, 'Heresy as a disease', in W. Lourdeaux and D. Verhelst, ed., *The Concept of heresy in the Middle Ages (11th–13th centuries)*, *Medievalia Lovaniensia*, ser. I, *Studia* IV (Louvain and The Hague, 1976), pp. 1–11.

twenty years before, at which the Cathar bishop spoke of the eastern roots of his movement.¹³⁰ Eckbert did not follow this lead, but identified the dualism of the Cathars as a form of Manichaeism and sought to understand the heresy by studying the writings of St. Augustine about the Manichees. Although Cathars and Manichees had some beliefs in common, the differences between them were considerable, but Eckbert's approach obscured this.¹³¹ Consequently his account of the origins of Catharism was totally misleading:

For that Mani, from whom the whole of this erroneous teaching originated, had many followers, and as long as he lived they all strayed from the truth as a single community. But after his death disagreements broke out among them and they split into three sects: some of them were called Mattharii, others Catharistae, while some continued to be known as Manichees because they followed their master's teaching in a more single-minded way than the rest.¹³²

Eberwin of Steinfeld, who had conducted the Cologne heresy trials in 1143, was the only Catholic writer before c. 1200 to suggest that there was any link between Catharism and the Byzantine Empire: 'Indeed, those who were burnt', he wrote, 'told us during their defence that this heresy had been hidden from the time of the martyrs to the present day, and has survived in Greece and certain other lands.' This account was preserved in a letter which Eberwin wrote to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and was copied into some collections of the saint's letters, but it did not, it would appear, circulate widely.¹³³ Certainly no surviving medieval anti-Cathar writings show any knowledge of it.

Hugh Eteriano almost certainly shared this ignorance of eastern Christian dualist heresy and of its connections with Catharism when he wrote the *Contra Patarenos*. Moreover, there is no evidence in

¹³⁰ See below, n. 26.

¹³¹ S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire and Medieval China. A historical survey* (Manchester, 1985); St. Augustine, *Six traités anti-manichéens*, with French trans., R. Jolivet and M. Jourjon, *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*, 17 (Bruges, 1961).

¹³² 'Nam Manichaeus ille, de quo totus hic error processit, multos quidem discipulos habebat et sub una secta errant dum adhuc viveret; mortuo autem eo, dissenserunt ab invicem et divisi sunt in tres partes, et vocati sunt quidam eorum Mattharii, quidam vero Catharistae, quidam autem singulariter Manichei dicebantur, quia singularius ceteris magistrum suum secuti sunt.' Eckbert, *Sermones contra Catharos*, I, *PL*, 195, col. 18.

¹³³ Eberwin of Steinfeld, *Epistola ad S. Bernardu*, *Ep.* CDLXXII, *PL*, 182, cols. 676–80.

Byzantine sources that Orthodox theologians at that time were aware that Bogomilism had spread to Western Europe and had attracted adherents there.

Modern historical investigation has revealed how the links between Bogomilism and Catharism were formed and continued to operate at the time when Hugh was writing his treatise. Those links must be examined because they shed light on the identity of the Patarenes about whom Hugh was writing.

A. *The Paulicians*

Although medieval Western theologians tended to label the Cathars as Manichees, this classification was misleading. Mani (216–277 A.D.) had founded a syncretistic mystery religion, which drew on elements of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Gnostic Christianity. Although Manichaean teachers, working in the predominantly Christian society of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century, used a Christian vocabulary and appealed to the Christian scriptures to support their arguments, they also had their own sacred writings which they considered authoritative and which they believed were the key to understanding other religious traditions.¹³⁴ Medieval Western theologians knew about the Manichees from the writings of St. Augustine, who had been a Manichaean hearer until, in middle life, he was received into the Catholic Church.¹³⁵ The Manichees had been dualists and had considered that the material world was a prison in which spiritual particles of light were trapped. These were to be found in the bodies of men and women and of all living creatures and aspired to return to the spiritual realm of the God of Light. The initiated members of Mani's church practised a regime of extreme asceticism. But the Manichean cosmogony was not Christian¹³⁶ and it has not proved possible to trace any certain historical links between that religion and medieval Christian dualist movements.¹³⁷

Christian dualism, it would seem, developed independently. Its founder was Constantine of Mananalis, an Armenian who lived in

¹³⁴ Lieu, *Manichaeism*, pp. 1–177.

¹³⁵ Brown, P.R.L., *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1967), pp. 46–60; St. Augustine, *Six traités anti-manichéens*.

¹³⁶ Widengren, G., *Mani and Manichaeism*, trans. C. Kessler (London, 1965), pp. 43–73.

¹³⁷ Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 125–8.

the reign of Constans II (641–68). His followers became known as Paulicians: the origins of this name are disputed, but the most likely explanation is that of Lemerle, that it was given to them by their opponents as a derisive reference to their leader, Paul, who re-established the movement on a sound footing in the early eighth century.¹³⁸ The fullest and most authoritative account of the Paulicians is that given by Peter of Sicily, who visited their capital at Tefrike in 869–70, at a time when they had an independent state, as an official emissary of the Byzantine Emperor Basil I.¹³⁹ During the months he spent among them, Peter was able to learn about their beliefs and also about their history. He reports that Constantine of Mananalis based his teaching solely on the New Testament, which he read in a canonical, though perhaps not complete, text.¹⁴⁰ His teaching shows no sign of Manichaean or Gnostic influences. Peter reports that the Paulicians claimed: ‘There is only one thing which separates us from the Romans [i.e. from the Byzantine Orthodox of New Rome], that we say that the Heavenly Father is one God, who has no power in this world, but who has power in the world to come, and that there is another God who made the world and who has power over this present world.’¹⁴¹ Constantine of Mananalis would have been familiar with the concept of dualism, because Zoroastrianism, which was a dualist faith, had been the established religion of the Persian Empire, and the Persians ruled the eastern provinces of Armenia until 640.¹⁴² Neither Constantine nor any of his followers appealed to any authority other than the New Testament as evidence for their faith and it therefore seems proper to call Paulicians, and members of related movements which shared this attitude to authority, Christian dualists.

¹³⁸ Paulician is a Graecized form of the Armenian *Paylikeank*, formed from a derogatory diminutive of Paul and meaning ‘the followers of the wretched Paul’, colloquially ‘Paulniks’, Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 55; P. Lemerle, ‘L’histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure d’après les sources grecques’, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 52.

¹³⁹ Peter of Sicily, *Historia*, ed. C. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papacryssanthou and J. Paramelle, *T & M*, 4 (1970), pp. 3–67.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chs. 94–100, pp. 40–3. The later Paulicians did not accept the two Epistles of St. Peter, *ibid.*, ch. 44, pp. 22–3.

¹⁴¹ This quotation comes from a shortened version of Peter of Sicily’s *Historia*, which is attributed to Peter the Higoumenos in one manuscript, but which is considered to have been Peter of Sicily’s own work, Peter the Higoumenos, *Epitome*, ch. 9, *T & M* 4, p. 85.

¹⁴² R.C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961); J. Laurent, *L’Arménie entre Byzance et l’Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu’en 886*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 117 (Paris, 1919), p. 90.

Paulician Christianity was a very spiritual religion. Its adherents regarded Jesus Christ as the saviour of the world but believed that he had manifested himself to men as a spiritual being and denied that he had been incarnated. They believed that Christ had given them his teaching, but denied that he had instituted material sacraments—baptism with water, or the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist—and they understood allegorically the passages in the New Testament which described those rites. They believed that the water of baptism was Christ, who referred to himself as the living water;¹⁴³ and that the bread and wine of the Eucharist were the teachings of Christ, who had said: ‘I am the living bread which came down from Heaven’.¹⁴⁴ They refused to reverence the Cross or to venerate the saints. Naturally they rejected the Orthodox Church and its hierarchy and claimed that theirs alone was the true Church.¹⁴⁵

Nothing is known about the form of initiation which the medieval Paulicians used.¹⁴⁶ Unlike most other dualist sects they do not appear to have had any elite group of ‘elect’, but the early Paulicians did have a hierarchy. In each generation there was a *didaskalos*, a religious teacher, who was the authoritative interpreter and custodian of the faith and who normally held office for life. He was assisted by a number of *synekdemoi*, or ‘travelling companions’, a type of ministry found in the New Testament,¹⁴⁷ and also by officials called notaries.¹⁴⁸

Unlike the members of any other dualist movement which considered that the material universe was the work of a malign power, the Paulicians did not practise asceticism. They observed no dietary

¹⁴³ Peter of Sicily, ch. 120, pp. 48–9.

¹⁴⁴ John 6:51. Peter of Sicily, chs. 40, 118, pp. 20–1, 48–9.

¹⁴⁵ Peter the Higoumenos, chs. 13–15, 19, pp. 88, 90.

¹⁴⁶ In 1898 F.C. Conybeare found a copy of *The Key of Truth* in a manuscript written in 1782, in the Library of Ejmiacin. He claimed that this was a service-book of the medieval Paulicians, and it contains a rite of adult baptism with water, F.C. Conybeare, ed. and trans., *The Key of Truth. A manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (Oxford, 1898). Nina Garsoian accepts its authenticity in general terms as representing the Paulician tradition, N. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967), pp. 108–10; Paul Lemerle, ‘Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure’, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 12–15, argued that *The Key of Truth* had been written in the eighteenth century under Western, Protestant influence, a view shared by V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement* (Allison Park, Pa., 1988), pp. 69–71, 89–96; see also B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 295–7.

¹⁴⁷ Acts 19:29; II Cor. 8:18–19.

¹⁴⁸ Peter the Higoumenos, ch. 19, p. 90.

restrictions; they were all allowed to marry, even the *didaskaloi*; they owned property and, by the ninth century, were known to be excellent warriors.¹⁴⁹

The Paulicians founded a number of local churches in Byzantine Asia Minor, Armenia and Muslim Cilicia, to which they gave names drawn from the churches of the New Testament founded by St. Paul.¹⁵⁰ They entered the European provinces of the Empire under the auspices of Constantine V (741–75) who wrongly believed them to be Orthodox because their *didaskalos* had given doctrinally correct answers about his faith when questioned by the Patriarch of Constantinople, though he had understood those answers in an unorthodox sense.¹⁵¹ Constantine settled a group of Paulicians in Thrace in the 750s.¹⁵²

The Paulicians in the Byzantine Empire were persecuted by the authorities in the reign of the Regent Theodora (842–856) and some of them set up an independent state at Tefrike on the eastern frontier from which they conducted raids into Byzantine territory. In 878 the Emperor Basil I captured Tefrike and enlisted some of the defeated Paulician troops in his own army.¹⁵³ Later emperors continued to use the services of the Paulicians, and John I Tzimiskes (969–76) settled a large group of them from north Syria at Philipopolis in c. 975.¹⁵⁴ The Paulicians in imperial service retained their own religion and were allowed to practise it freely. They seem to have abandoned any attempt to proselytize in return for this toleration, and came to be considered a harmless group of dissenters. Euthymius, a monk of the Periblepton monastery, and a fierce defender of Orthodoxy, writing in the mid-eleventh century, said of the Paulicians: ‘Their heresy is obvious and can not harm anyone except those who hold it as an inherited tradition: no one is grieved or upset on their account’.¹⁵⁵

There were still Paulicians in the European provinces of the Empire in Hugh Eteriano’s day, for when the forces of the Fourth Crusade

¹⁴⁹ Lemerle, ‘Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure’, *T & M* 5, pp. 49–137.

¹⁵⁰ Peter of Sicily, ch. 163, pp. 60–1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, chs. 114–21, pp. 46–9.

¹⁵² Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 429.

¹⁵³ Lemerle, ‘Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure’, *T & M* 5, pp. 104–116.

¹⁵⁴ Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, Bk. XVII, ed. M. Pinder and T. Buttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1841–97), III, pp. 521–2.

¹⁵⁵ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Epistola Invectiva*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 63.

captured Philippopolis in the winter of 1204–5, they found a substantial number of Paulicians living there.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the Paulicians proved the most enduring of all the medieval Christian dualist groups in the Byzantine world and continued to exist in the Ottoman period.¹⁵⁷

B. *The Bogomils*

A new form of Christian dualism developed in tenth-century Bulgaria, which came to be known as Bogomilism. The fullest account of its origins is that written by Cosmas the Priest. The earliest surviving manuscript of his work dates from the fifteenth century, and the only internal evidence of when it was written is a reference to Tsar Peter (927–69) as dead, but it is generally thought to have been composed towards the end of the tenth century.¹⁵⁸ Cosmas was an Orthodox priest in the Bulgarian Church and wrote in Old Slavonic. He reports:

This, then, is what happened in the land of Bulgaria. In the reign of the good Christian Tsar Peter there was a priest (*pop*) called Bogomil . . . who started for the first time to preach heresy in the country of Bulgaria.¹⁵⁹

Pop Bogomil may have been influenced by Paulicians. Peter of Sicily was told at Tefrike that they had a proselytising mission to Bulgaria; he took this warning seriously and dedicated his treatise to the Orthodox Bishop of Bulgaria.¹⁶⁰ However, Bogomil teaching differed considerably from that of Constantine of Mananalis. The most important distinction between the two movements was that *pop* Bogomil taught that there was only one creative principle, God the Father,

¹⁵⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 399, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938–9), II, p. 210.

¹⁵⁷ M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), pp. 336–41.

¹⁵⁸ This date is disputed, M. Dando, 'Peut-on avancer de 240 ans la date de composition du *Traité* de Cosmas le prêtre contre les Bogomiles?', *Cahiers des Études cathares*, 34 (1983), pp. 3–25.

¹⁵⁹ This text is cited in the translation made by Yuri Stoyanov of the Discourse of the Priest Cosmas against the Bogomils for B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 114–34 (this citation is from p. 116). This is based on the French translation of H.C. Puech and A. Vaillant, *Le Traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre* (Paris, 1945), collated with the critical edition of J.K. Begunov, *Kosma presviter v slavjanski literaturach* (Sofia, 1973).

¹⁶⁰ Peter of Sicily, chs. 1–5, pp. 6–9.

Who had two sons, the elder was Jesus Christ, the younger the Devil. The Devil had no creative powers, but he fashioned the material universe in its present form from the elements which his Father had created. The souls of human beings were in origin angelic and created by God the Father, but they had been trapped in material bodies by the Devil, who was unable, by his own power, to animate those bodies which he had fashioned. The angelic souls wished to be freed from their bodily prison and humanity was offered salvation through the intervention of God's elder son, Jesus Christ. Cosmas does not state explicitly that Jesus appeared among men only in a spiritual body, though that premise is implicit in his account. The Bogomils rejected the Old Testament but accepted the New Testament as authoritative and read it in the canonical text. They rejected the Orthodox Church as a false church and claimed that they were the only true Christians. Like the Paulicians they also rejected material sacraments and interpreted allegorically those passages in the New Testament which related to them. Their allegory of the Eucharist was slightly different from that of the Paulicians: they believed that when Christ gave his disciples bread and wine and told them that these were his Body and his Blood, he was speaking as a teacher and was referring to the Four Gospels as his Body, and to the Acts of the Apostles as his Blood.¹⁶¹

The Bogomils differed radically from the Paulicians in their way of life. They rejected sex in all forms, would not eat meat or drink wine, and met for communal prayer four times each day and four times each night. They rejected all traditional forms of liturgical prayer, and recited the Lord's Prayer over and over again. Indeed, primitive Bogomil prayer-meetings must have resembled post-Tridentine Catholic recitations of the Rosary. The early Bogomils had no ordained ministry except for their leader, *pop* Bogomil, and Cosmas reports that they confessed their sins to each other.¹⁶²

The early Bogomils are usually described as moderate, or mitigated, dualists. They were dualist in so far as they did not believe that the phenomenal world was the work of the Good God, but moderate dualists in believing that there was only one creative principle. Almost fifty years ago R.C. Zaehner drew attention to the similarities between the primitive Bogomil cosmology of the Good God

¹⁶¹ Cosmas the Priest, pp. 119–20.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 132.

and his two sons, Christ and the Devil, and the late Zoroastrian belief in the High God Zurvan and his two sons, Ormazd, God of Light, and Ahriman, God of Darkness, but conceded that there was no evidence of a link between the two systems.¹⁶³ Yuri Stoyanov has recently pointed out that opportunities existed for contact between the pagan Bulgarians, when they lived north of the Danube in the Russian steppes before 681, and the Zurvanite form of Zoroastrianism established in the Persian Empire in the late Sassanian period.¹⁶⁴ In that way a belief in God and his two sons may have been present among the pagan Bulgars, and have interacted with the teachings of Orthodox Christianity and of Paulician preachers to shape the form of Christianity taught by *pop* Bogomil.

Bogomil asceticism would seem to have been based on the Orthodox monastic tradition, understood by the recently converted Bulgars as the most perfect form of the Christian life. It was a matter of some frustration to the priest Cosmas that the Bogomils could not be faulted because of their way of life, only because of their reasons for choosing that way. One consequence of this was that they were difficult to detect: '[They] take care not to be noticeable and to do everything externally so that they may not be told apart from Orthodox Christians', Cosmas reports.¹⁶⁵ He had learned from Bogomils who had returned to Orthodoxy that they were willing to go into Orthodox churches and 'kiss the cross and the icons for fear of men', a practice which they justified, saying: 'We do all this for man's sake, not from our heart: we keep our faith in secret'.¹⁶⁶ Cosmas adds, perhaps with some degree of hyperbole:

Let a man ask [the Bogomils], 'Is this what you do and say?'—then they deny it and swear an oath, 'We are not such as you believe.' They deny their practices and prayers so forcefully that you would think there was no harm in them.¹⁶⁷

The movement described by Cosmas appears very primitive, lacking in organization and theological finesse, but this may in part be the fault of the source. Cosmas's *Discourse* is not well constructed and

¹⁶³ R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: a Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), Appendix.

¹⁶⁴ See his cautious appraisal of pre-Christian Bulgar temples, Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 139–45.

¹⁶⁵ Cosmas the Priest, p. 116.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

fails to give a coherent account of this new religious movement and its belief system.

The years following the death of Tsar Peter in 969 were an unusually turbulent period in Bulgarian history, and peace was only restored when in 1018 the Byzantine Emperor Basil II finally destroyed Bulgarian independence and absorbed the country into his empire. Bogomilism had been free to spread during those years, and, indeed, may have enjoyed the patronage of some members of the family of Tsar Samuel (c. 987–1014).¹⁶⁸ One consequence of Byzantine annexation was that the Bogomils were able to spread freely in the rest of the Byzantine Empire.

Euthymius, a senior monk in the Periblepton monastery of Constantinople, provides the first detailed account of Byzantine Bogomilism. He wrote in c. 1050 and was in a position to be well informed about that heresy because a group of Bogomils had infiltrated his own community. He discovered this from a disciple of his own who was converted to their views and sought to share his enlightenment with his master. Euthymius's reaction was not dissimilar from that of the papal inquisitors when confronted by western dualists two centuries later: 'There were four atheists [i.e. Bogomils]. Having overpowered them, we determined to separate them from one another, and to threaten them with death unless they gave a clear and complete account of their heresy.'¹⁶⁹ They may have done so, but unfortunately clarity of thought and expression were not among Euthymius's own gifts, and the account which he wrote is a very emotional polemic. Nevertheless, it is clear from his account that Byzantine Bogomilism was becoming more sophisticated than the simple faith described by Cosmas the Priest. Euthymius reports that the heretics called themselves 'true Christians', but that they were known by other people as Bogomils or Phundagiagitae. The latter term, used only in this text, has never been successfully explained.¹⁷⁰

Euthymius shows no knowledge of the work of Cosmas the Priest, probably because it was written in Old Slavonic. This is important in evaluating his evidence, because it means that he had no *a priori*

¹⁶⁸ D. Anguélov, *Le Bogomilisme en Bulgarie* (Toulouse, 1972), p. 104.

¹⁶⁹ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Liber Invektivus*, PG 131, 55. This passage is found in the Vatican manuscript which Ficker did not use in his edition.

¹⁷⁰ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Epistola Invektiva*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 62.

expectations of what these heretics believed, but records, albeit with many personal asides, what they told him about themselves. He was aware that the Bogomils regarded themselves as Trinitarians: 'Do not be astonished, my brothers', he writes, '... when you hear them say that they believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, that they keep the apostles and saints in memory, and call themselves Christians.'¹⁷¹ They told Euthymius that 'there are only two things in the visible universe which belong to God's creation, the sun and the human soul'.¹⁷² Everything else is the work of the Devil. Euthymius records some of their myths about the creation of man.¹⁷³

It is clear that by the mid-eleventh century mythology, derived partly from Gnostic Christian writings and partly from the folklore of the Balkan peoples, had begun to occupy a central role in Bogomil religion, as it continued to do in the Western Cathar movements which traced their descent from Bogomilism.¹⁷⁴ Alessandra Greco has argued that the Cathars (and by implication the Bogomils also) interpreted the New Testament in the way that they did because they read it in the light of a heterodox and at times un-Christian mythology: in other words that they accepted the mythology as true and used the Christian scriptures as evidence of its veracity.¹⁷⁵ This is an unproven assumption. The Cathars inherited their understanding of the Christian faith together with their religious mythology from the Bogomils, but neither they nor the Bogomils claimed that that mythology was divinely inspired. Divine inspiration was reserved by them for the canonical scriptures alone. It would therefore seem probable that the Bogomils initially understood Christianity in a dualist sense, perhaps under Paulician influence, but then faced two challenges: first the need to explain, in the absence of clear scriptural evidence, how the imprisonment of angelic souls in evil bodies had come about; secondly the need to explain why this truth, taught by Christ to the apostles, as they believed, was not more widely diffused. They found answers to both these questions in apocryphal Gnostic Christian texts, some of which were attributed to apostolic authors, which the disciples of St. Clement of Ochrida began to translate from Greek into

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35–7.

¹⁷⁴ Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 260–86.

¹⁷⁵ A. Greco, *Mitologia Catara*.

Old Slavonic in the early tenth century.¹⁷⁶ Arguably these texts performed exactly the same function for the Bogomils as apocryphal writings like the Infancy Gospels did for orthodox Christians; they filled in gaps left by the canonical scriptures, and often contained stories which both clergy and laity enjoyed hearing.¹⁷⁷ But the learned members of both the Bogomil and orthodox Churches were aware that apocryphal writings lacked the guarantee of divine truth which attached to the canonical books.

Euthymius gives details of the two-part initiation ritual used by the Bogomils, which is not known to have existed in Cosmas's time, but which resembled the form of *consolamentum* used in the Cathar *Rituals*.¹⁷⁸ This implies that the Byzantine Bogomils made a distinction between the fully initiated members of their Church and those who were only 'hearers' or catechumens.

Like Cosmas, Euthymius was worried by the capacity of the Bogomils to pass themselves off as Orthodox Christians. He had only detected them in his own monastery by chance, just as Cosmas owed some of his information about Bogomils to 'those of them who have been converted to our true faith'.¹⁷⁹ Euthymius reports: 'I will tell you another crafty trick of the blasphemers: they are in the habit of joining in pretence in religious assemblies with the orthodox to avoid detection.'¹⁸⁰ In Euthymius's view the Bogomils were the wolves in sheep's clothing against whom Christ had warned his Church, but they were particularly dangerous because they were 'rational wolves'.¹⁸¹

The monastery of the Periblepton had been founded by the Emperor Romanus III (1028–34), who was buried there.¹⁸² The members of this community were therefore well connected and it is clear that during the eleventh century Bogomilism had begun to infiltrate some

¹⁷⁶ A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 159–79; J. Ivanov, *Livres et légendes bogomiles*, trans. M. Ribeyrol (Paris, 1976); Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 260–4.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Narratives of the childhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary. O. Cullmann, 'Infancy Gospels', in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R.McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1991–2), I, pp. 413–68.

¹⁷⁸ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Liber Invektivus*, PG 131, 55.

¹⁷⁹ Cosmas the Priest, p. 124.

¹⁸⁰ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Epistola Invektiva*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 78.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁸² Janin, *Églises*, p. 218.

of the great families of Constantinople. Yuri Stoyanov has suggested that this may have been one consequence of the marriages which Basil II arranged between Bulgarian princesses and members of the Byzantine aristocracy, because some of the female kin of Tsar Samuel were known to have had Bogomil sympathies. In that way the movement would have found noble patrons in the Byzantine capital during the eleventh century.¹⁸³

Anna, the daughter of the Emperor Alexius I (1081–1118), reports how skilful the Bogomils of Constantinople were during her father's reign 'at counterfeiting virtue'. They dressed as monks, and, indeed, some of them may have been professed as Orthodox monks, but little was known about them. Alexius had a group of their adherents brought to the palace for questioning, and one of them, Diblatius, revealed under torture the identity of their leader, a doctor named Basil, who was also a monk, and who was assisted by a group of initiates of both sexes. Alexius dealt cleverly, though unscrupulously, with Basil, by pretending that he wished to be instructed by him in matters of faith and by inviting him to the palace. Any religious teacher who wishes to make converts is open to this kind of blackmail. Basil explained his understanding of the Christian faith to Alexius and to his brother, the Sebastocrator Isaac, and was arrested, tried for heresy, and burnt at the stake at a great public ceremony in the Hippodrome when he refused to abjure his errors. All other known Bogomils were also arrested; those who abjured their heresy were released, but those who refused to do so were condemned to life imprisonment.¹⁸⁴ Anna Comnena does not date these events, but places them in her *History* towards the end of her father's reign. The historian Zonaras, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, and whose chronicle ends in 1118, places the trial immediately after the passage of the First Crusade through the capital in 1097, and it must certainly have taken place before 1104 because the Sebastocrator Isaac died in that year. As Michael Angold has argued, the trial of Basil must be dated within those parameters.¹⁸⁵

During his trial Basil was examined by the emperor's personal theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus, who was compiling a study of

¹⁸³ Stoyanov, *The Other God*, p. 168.

¹⁸⁴ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, viii–x, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937–45), III, pp. 218–28.

¹⁸⁵ Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, XVIII, 23, p. 743; Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 485–6.

heresy, *The Dogmatic Panoply*, of which Book XXVII is devoted to Bogomilism. Unlike Euthymius of the Periblepton and Cosmas the Priest, Zigabenus had an orderly mind, and it is possible from his account to obtain a clear picture of Bogomil belief and practice.

The Byzantine Bogomils whom he described were far more sophisticated and better educated than the simple dissidents about whom Cosmas the Priest wrote. They based their teachings on the New Testament, but also accepted the Psalter and the sixteen prophetic books of the Old Testament as divinely inspired. It is unclear from Zigabenus's account whether they included with the Psalter those books which St. Jerome had described as *Libri didactici*, 'the books of teachings': Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. They certainly rejected the Pentateuch and also the historical books in their entirety.¹⁸⁶ The Bogomils had a written exegesis of those Scriptures which they did accept, and Zigabenus, as an example of this, cites passages from their commentary on the first nine chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.¹⁸⁷

Like Cosmas the Priest, Zigabenus reports that the Bogomils were mitigated dualists, though he, and all other writers, disagree with Cosmas in stating that the Bogomils believed that the Devil was God's elder son and Christ his younger. Zigabenus relates that Satan, having rebelled against his Father, was cast out of Heaven and shaped the phenomenal cosmos from the inchoate elements which the Good God had created.¹⁸⁸ However, being unable to animate the body of Adam which he had formed, 'he sent an embassy to the Good Father and asked him to send his breath, saying that the man would be shared if he were to be endowed with life, and that the places in Heaven of the angels who had been thrown out, should be filled by man's descendants. Because God is good, He agreed [to this] . . .'¹⁸⁹ The Bogomil creation story, while it had points of contact with the account in Genesis which the Bogomils rejected, had a mythological content drawn from outside the Bible narrative. A fuller account of the myth is contained in the Utrecht manuscript of Zigabenus's work.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Zigabenus says that they only accepted seven books of the Bible: the Psalter, the Prophets, the Four Gospels, and the rest of the New Testament which they grouped together as a single book. *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 1, PG 130, 1291.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 27–52, PG 130, 1321–32.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 6–7, PG 130, 1293–1302.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 7, PG 130, 1297.

¹⁹⁰ Euthymius Zigabenus, *De heresi Bogomilorum Narratio*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, pp. 92–5.

Because Satan tried to renege on this agreement and to keep the souls of Adam's descendants in his power,¹⁹¹ God sent his younger son, Christ into the world on a redemptive mission. He only took the appearance of a man from his mother Mary, but in reality was a spiritual being, unable either to suffer physically or to die. Christ bound the Devil in Hell, and founded his Church, of which the Bogomils are the true representatives, to enable the souls of believers to return at their death to the Paradise of God.¹⁹² The means of salvation which Christ instituted was the Bogomil sacrament of baptism, which Zigabenus describes in a way which agrees with the account given by Euthymius of the Periblepton.¹⁹³ The Bogomils dismissed Orthodox baptism as useless, saying that it was simply 'the baptism of John', which Christ had superseded with the baptism of fire and of the Holy Spirit, and they re-baptized converts in accordance with their own rite.¹⁹⁴ The Bogomils did not believe in the eucharistic sacrifice, but taught that Christ's words of institution at the Last Supper referred to the prayer Our Father (the bread) and the new Christian covenant (the wine).¹⁹⁵ The only set prayer which they would use was the Our Father, which they recited multiply seven times each day and five times each night. Zigabenus gives a description of these services: 'Wherever these [people] stand to pray they say this prayer, some ten times over with prostrations, some fifteen, some more or less. All other prayers they despise, calling them idle repetitions.'¹⁹⁶ The Bogomils rejected the Orthodox Church and believed that church buildings were the dwellings of demons and Zigabenus was particularly scandalized that they should hold such an opinion of the great church of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople.¹⁹⁷

The Bogomils naturally rejected Orthodox devotions. Although willing to acknowledge that some Biblical figures and the early martyrs were truly saints, they refused that title to the bishops and doctors canonized by the Orthodox Church, and they also refused to show reverence to the icons, which they considered idolatrous.¹⁹⁸ They likewise refused to venerate the Holy Cross 'because it is the

¹⁹¹ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 9–10, PG 130, 1305–8.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, XXVII, 8, PG 130, 1301–6.

¹⁹³ See above, p. 40.

¹⁹⁴ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 16, PG 130, 1311–14.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 17, PG 130, 1313–14.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 19, PG 130, 1313–16.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 18, PG 130, 1313–14.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 11, PG 130, 1307–10.

murderer of the Saviour'.¹⁹⁹ Zigabenus was shocked by their reductionist attitude to the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in salvation history: 'They say that those of their faith, in whom dwells what they think of as the Holy Spirit, are all, and are called, *Theotokoi*, God-bearers. They bear the Word of God and give birth to it by teaching. The first *Theotokos* [Mary] had nothing more than they.'²⁰⁰ When discussing the Bogomil commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, Zigabenus sheds light on their attitude to marriage:

Since 'Anyone who divorces his wife except on the charge of fornication'²⁰¹ and the rest of this saying contradicts their teaching about not marrying a woman, they say that all this is secret, inexplicable, and only known to those who have put off the flesh. They strongly affirm the doctrine of celibacy, and adduce the word of the Lord: 'In the resurrection they neither marry nor are married',²⁰² thinking in their stupidity that 'resurrection' means repentance and the life of the Gospel.²⁰³

The Bogomils described by Zigabenus do not seem to have had any major objections to swearing oaths. He tells us that they glossed the text, 'Do not swear at all . . . by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king',²⁰⁴ simply by saying 'the great king is the Devil, because he is cosmocrator'.²⁰⁵

Given their distinct systems of belief, worship and asceticism, combined with their hostility to the Orthodox Church, Bogomils should have been very easy to detect, but Zigabenus agrees with Anna Comnena and with Euthymius of the Periblepton that this was not the case. 'They dress as monks and put on their appearance as a bait. They hide the wolf under the fleece, so that they may be welcomed for their appearance and find a place to meet people', says Zigabenus.²⁰⁶ They publicly professed belief in the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit and therefore sounded orthodox;²⁰⁷ but although they were in some sense Trinitarians their beliefs were very

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 14, PG 130, 1309–12.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 22, PG 130, 1317–18.

²⁰¹ Matt. 5:32.

²⁰² Matt. 22:30.

²⁰³ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 39, PG 130, 1325–6.

²⁰⁴ Matt. 5:34, 36.

²⁰⁵ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 40, PG 130, 1327–8.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 24, PG 130, 1319–20.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 2, PG 130, 1291–4.

heterodox and they thought that both the Son and the Holy Spirit were emanations of the Good God.²⁰⁸ In fact the Bogomils were able to circulate freely because they were mistaken for Orthodox monks with a strong sense of pastoral commitment, and devout lay people looked to them for spiritual guidance. This meant that they had to exercise what a later age would term 'reserve in communicating religious knowledge'. Zigabenus explains how they operated:

In the beginning they teach the newly converted simply, exhorting them to believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to know that Christ was incarnate and gave the sacred Gospel to the Apostles. They order them to keep the precepts of the Gospel and to pray and to fast . . . and to live in purity and be long-suffering and to repent and to tell the truth and to love one another . . . As time goes by they sow tares in the wheat. When they have made the poor wretches tame and obedient, and got them within their nets then, indeed, they give them the deadly potion, blaspheming openly and initiating them into the teaching of the Devil.²⁰⁹

Alexius Comnenus was aware that he had not completely eradicated Bogomilism in his capital by bringing its leaders to trial. In 1107 he commissioned preachers to give sermons in the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom, warning the people about the dangers of Bogomilism and about how to detect the heretics.²¹⁰ This was not a new initiative, but a continuation of a programme introduced by the Patriarch Nicholas III Grammaticus (1084–1111) at the beginning of his reign, but it was significant that Alexius should have signalled its importance and given it his full support.²¹¹

The Bogomils of Constantinople succeeded in concealing themselves for a generation. They were next brought to public notice towards the end of the reign of John II, when in 1140 the Patriarch Leo Stypes (1134–43) condemned the writings of Constantine Chrysomallus, a lay theologian who had recently died, as tainted with Bogomilism.²¹² Although Gouillard, who edited the proceedings of the trial, was convinced that Chrysomallus was orthodox and was

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 3–4, *PG* 130, 1293–4.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 26, *PG* 130, 1319–22.

²¹⁰ P. Gautier, 'L'édit d'Alexis Ier Comnène sur la réforme du clergé', *REB* 31 (1973), pp. 165–202.

²¹¹ Angold, *Church and Society*, p. 487.

²¹² J. Gouillard, 'Quatre procès de mystiques à Byzance (vers. 960–1143). Inspiration et autorité', *REB* 36 (1978), pp. 56–67.

merely following the tradition of St. Symeon the New Theologian, Angold is more cautious in his assessment of his work.²¹³

Leo Stytes died in 1143, shortly after the Emperor John, and his successor, Michael II of Oxeia (1143–6), was appointed by the new Emperor, Manuel I. At the beginning of Michael's reign the Bishops of Sasima and Balbissa in Cappadocia were put on trial before the Holy Synod and found guilty of Bogomilism. They were deposed from office and sentenced to solitary confinement. Nothing in the official account of the proceedings substantiates the charge that they were Bogomils,²¹⁴ and the sentence against them was viewed with misgiving by some churchmen at the time. One of the most vocal critics was the monk Niphon, who had been held in high regard by the Emperor John as a holy man. He was brought before the Synod in 1144, condemned as a Bogomil supporter, and imprisoned in the Periblepton monastery.²¹⁵

The Patriarch Michael II resigned his office in 1146 and was succeeded by Cosmas II Atticus. The new patriarch was a friend of the monk Niphon whom he released from prison, but this enabled Cosmas's enemies to charge him with favouring Bogomilism. On 20 February 1147 a synod at which the emperor presided found Cosmas guilty of heresy and deposed him.²¹⁶

Paul Magdalino has argued that the frequent changes of patriarch and the high-profile heresy trials at the beginning of Manuel's reign in part reflect conflicts between factions among the clergy who served the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom.²¹⁷ Certainly no modern scholar supposes that the Cappadocian bishops, the monk Niphon, or the Patriarch Cosmas were in any sense guilty of the Bogomil sympathies with which they were charged. Moreover, even if Angold is right in arguing that Chrysomallus's writings were influenced by some dualist opinions, there is no suggestion in the sources that he had any connection with organized Bogomilism. Yet Angold is almost

²¹³ J. Gouillard, 'Constantin Chrysomallos sous le marque de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien', *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 313–27; Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 487–90.

²¹⁴ Gouillard, 'Quatre procès', pp. 68–81.

²¹⁵ V. Grumel, ed., *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les Actes des Patriarches, fasc. ii et iii. Les registres de 715 à 1206*, 2 edn revised J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1989), nos. 1013, 1015.

²¹⁶ Mansi, XXI, 701–8.

²¹⁷ P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 284–5.

certainly right to argue that the fact that the accused in these largely political trials were charged with being Bogomil supporters is evidence that fear of that heresy was still very strong in Constantinople at that time.²¹⁸

The Holy Synod of Constantinople decreed in the reign of Michael II of Oxeia that Bogomils should be burnt. This is known from the commentary on the *Nomocanon* written by Theodore Balsamon at the end of Manuel's reign. He thought this enactment so unusual that he stated:

I know that no canon has ever enjoined punishment, and ecclesiastical law has not known corporal penalties, but rather the civil law has. I am still surprised that the synod enjoined a punishment of this kind, for we have been told to cut heretics off from the body of Christ, but we have not learned to punish them but rather to hand them over to the civil power if they are unrepentant, and the sentence against them be given by the magistrates.²¹⁹

Michael Angold argues that the Church authorities made this enactment for a practical reason, to sanction the burning of convicted Bogomils, a task which would normally have been undertaken by the emperor.²²⁰ It certainly seems more probable that the synod legislated to punish specific offenders who had been convicted by the church courts than that this revolutionary enactment was merely an academic exercise. No further details of these prosecutions are known, and the cases may not have related to Constantinople but to the provinces. But even if that were so, the enactment would have been a warning to the Bogomil community of the capital not to draw attention to itself.

That Bogomils were present in the European provinces of the empire during Manuel's reign is known from the *Life* of St. Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena in Macedonia (1134–64),²²¹ and from the anti-Bogomil anathemas added to the Synodikon of Orthodoxy in the province of Hellas during the mid-twelfth century.²²² It is also possible

²¹⁸ Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 490–1.

²¹⁹ Theodore Balsamon, *Scholia in Nomocanon*, PG 104, 1111.

²²⁰ Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 490, 496; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, p. 284.

²²¹ See the relevant extract based on the translation by V. Sharenkoff, *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with special reference to the Bogomils* (New York and Carranza, 1927), Appendix 3, pp. 79–80, collated with the Old Slavonic text by Yuri Stoyanov, in B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 225–7.

²²² J. Gouillard, ed., 'Le Synodikon d'Orthodoxie', *T & M*, 2 (1967), pp. 63–9, commentary, pp. 232–7.

that the Emperor Manuel tried to suppress Bogomilism in Thessaly and Boeotia, though the evidence for this, the *Dialogue concerning Demons*, is difficult to interpret.²²³ Nevertheless, the updating of the abjuration formulae administered to Bogomils who wished to be reconciled to the Orthodox Church, which the editors have attributed to the years c. 1150–60, implies that some recent initiative had been undertaken by the imperial authorities against Bogomils which made this necessary.²²⁴

The Bogomils of the capital seem to have escaped detection at this time and they were still there in the thirteenth century. The Orthodox Patriarch Germanus II (1222–40), who was living in exile at the court of Nicaea while Latin Emperors ruled at Constantinople as a result of the Fourth Crusade, wrote a pastoral letter to the Orthodox clergy of Constantinople to warn them about the Bogomils in the city. The heretics he described held the same mitigated dualist faith as that ascribed to the followers of the doctor Basil by Euthymius Zigabenus: ‘If anyone says that God made only human souls, but the Devil made bodies, and combines God and the Devil as collaborators in the shaping of men [let him be] . . . anathema.’ Germanus goes on to say that the Bogomils reject the Old Testament, call the Holy Cross a gallows-tree, do not believe that the bread and wine of the Eucharist are changed to ‘life-giving mysteries’ during the liturgy, but remain simply ordinary foodstuffs, regard icons as idols and deny the validity of Christian marriage. Germanus concludes his letter:

Our Mediocrity exhorts . . . you Orthodox Christians in the city of Constantinople to distribute to all churches the present letter . . . and to enjoin . . . that it should be read on all Sundays . . . to rouse up the Orthodox people and to destroy the satanic heresies of the Bogomils.²²⁵

Almost a century and a half after Basil the heresiarch had been burnt, the Bogomil community which he had led was still flourishing secretly in the imperial city.

²²³ Gautier, who edited this text, dated it to the mid-twelfth century and suggested that it was written by Nicholas of Methone who died in c. 1164, P. Gautier, ‘Le *De Demonibus* du pseudo-Psellos’, *REB*, 38 (1980), pp. 105–94.

²²⁴ P. Eleuteri and A. Rigo, *Eretici, Dissidenti, Mussulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresilogica del XII secolo* (Venice, 1993).

²²⁵ Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople, *Epistola ad Constantinopolitanos contra Bogomilos*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, pp. 113–25.

When Hugh Eteriano was living in Constantinople there was a Byzantine Bogomil community there whose members had many of the characteristics which he attributed to the Patarenes, except that they do not seem to have been so adamantly opposed to taking oaths. They sought to avoid publicity, probably through fear of the repressive measures taken against their movement by the imperial authorities and the Church in the early years of Manuel's reign. Hugh does not show any awareness of their existence and certainly did not know that Byzantine heretics had any links with Western heretical groups.

The Bogomils of Bulgaria

The Bogomils of Constantinople had received their faith from Bulgaria, but after Basil II had incorporated the Bulgarian Empire in the Byzantine state, there is little reference in the sources to the presence of Bogomils in the Bulgarian provinces.²²⁶ Bulgaria regained its independence in c. 1187 and its empire was restored in 1204 when a papal legate crowned Tsar Kalojan at Trnovo in return for his agreement to bring the Bulgarian Church into union with the Holy See.²²⁷ In 1211 his successor, Tsar Boril, held a synod at Trnovo which legislated against Bogomils. Although this has sometimes been regarded as a concession to Pope Innocent III, who was at that time organizing the Albigensian Crusade against the dualist Cathars of Languedoc, the evidence for this is slight.²²⁸ Innocent, it is true, had sent a cardinal-legate to Bulgaria in 1206 on an unknown mission, but he had been sent to Boril's predecessor, Tsar Kalojan, and the time which elapsed between his mission and the synod makes it very improbable that there was any connection between the two.²²⁹ Indeed,

²²⁶ The chief references in this period, as Obolensky noted, come from Western sources, *The Bogomils*, pp. 156–67, 226–9.

²²⁷ P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A political study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 309–12; J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 54–6.

²²⁸ Obolensky drew attention to these views, which he did not share, *The Bogomils*, p. 234. For recent work on Innocent III and the Albigensian Crusade: M. Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester and New York, 1997); M. Barber, *The Cathars. Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 120–40.

²²⁹ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS*, XXIII, p. 886.

there is no evidence that the Papacy in Innocent's reign was aware of the existence of Bogomilism, although a few western churchmen may have been.²³⁰

As Stoyanov and Obolensky have pointed out, the Synod which met at Trnovo on 11 February 1211 showed no signs of Western influence.²³¹ Tsar Boril presided over it in the Orthodox tradition and, as Gouillard has noted, the anti-Bogomil legislation reproduced the canons of the Patriarch Cosmas I of Constantinople (1075–81), although they have been arranged in a different order and additional material has been added relating to folkloristic practices. Cosmas's letter is known in the copy sent to the metropolitan of Larissa in Thessaly; whether it was distributed more widely, perhaps to the Bulgarian hierarchy, is not known, though if it had been that would explain why the Synod of Trnovo used it as a model.²³²

The Synodikon of Tsar Boril begins by anathematising '*pop* Bogomil, who during the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter adopted this Manichaean heresy and spread it in the land of Bulgaria'. The Synodikon also contains a passage about the Christology of the Bogomils which is not found in Cosmas's text: 'that Christ our God was borne by the holy Mother of God and ever-Virgin Mary [only] in appearance, that He was crucified in appearance, and that He ascended in His divinised body and left it in the air'. The Synodikon anathematizes all those who accept this teaching, together with their supporters, irrespective of their religious views. Anathemas are also pronounced against those who hold other Bogomil doctrines: those who believe that Satan made the visible universe; those who reject the Old Testament in its entirety; those who deny the efficacy of baptism with water; those who reject the Eucharist and 'the whole mystery accomplished by Our Lord Jesus Christ for our salvation'; those who reject the Orthodox liturgy and priesthood and will only recite one prayer, the Our Father; and those who refuse to venerate the Holy Cross or the sacred icons. The Synodikon ends with an anathema, which could not have formed part of Cosmas's legislation, against 'Basil the physician, who spread this thrice-accursed

²³⁰ See below, p. 101.

²³¹ Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 234–5; Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 204–5.

²³² P. Gouillard, 'Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril', *T & M*, 4 (1970), pp. 361–74.

heresy in Constantinople during the reign of the Orthodox Emperor Alexius Comnenus'.²³³

These enactments are proof that Bogomilism had survived in Bulgaria throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the mitigated dualist form taught by *pop* Bogomil, and that the Bogomils of Bulgaria and those of Constantinople were thought to form a single communion.

The Ordo of Drugunthia

By the reign of Manuel Comnenus a new form of dualist heresy had developed in the Balkans. This affected the Bogomil Church of Constantinople at the time when Hugh was living there, but it is known only from Western sources. Rainier Sacconi in his *Summa de Catharis* written in c. 1250 lists the churches of the Cathars in Italy and France followed by the 'ecclesie Catharorum de ultra mare/the churches of the Cathars beyond the seas'. He concludes his description of the latter group: 'The Church of Bulgaria. The Church of Duguuithia. And all [the Cathar churches] trace their origin to the two last-named.'²³⁴

When he wrote this, Rainier was papal inquisitor for Lombardy. He had been converted to Catholicism by St. Peter Martyr in 1235 and had joined the Dominican Order, but before that he had been a Cathar minister for seventeen years.²³⁵ This means that he had been initiated as a Cathar in c. 1216, and after he became a member of their hierarchy he had dealings with other leaders whose personal involvement in the movement stretched back to the late twelfth century, among whom was Bishop Nazarius of Concorezzo.²³⁶ Rainier was therefore in a position to be well informed about the diffusion of Catharism and its links with Balkan and Byzantine dualist

²³³ B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 260–2.

²³⁴ 'Ecclesia Bulgarie. Ecclesia Duguuithie. Et omnes habuerunt originem a duobus ultimis'. Rainier, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, pp. 50, 59.

²³⁵ 'Ego autem frater Rainerius olim heresiarcha, nunc Dei gratia sacerdos in ordine Praedicatorum . . . dico indubitanter quod in annis XVII, quibus conversatus sum cum eis . . .' 'I Brother Rainier, formerly an heretical leader, now, by the grace of God, a priest in the Dominican Order . . . state unreservedly that during the seventeen years in which I was a member of their [communion] . . .', *Ibid.*, pp. 44–5.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

movements, and his evidence about the importance of the Church of Druguithia has to be taken seriously.

The name appears in a variety of forms in Western texts: Dragometia, Drugonthia, Druguria, Druguithia, Duguuthia and Digunnicia.²³⁷ I. Dujčev has concluded: 'Parmi les hypothèses relatives à la localisation, la plus vraisemblable reste celle selon laquelle on désigne sous cette dénomination la région des Rhodopes située au sud de la ville de Philippopolis.'²³⁸

The anonymous treatise which Dondaine called the *De Heresi Catharorum*, dating from the first years of the thirteenth century, which will be considered in more detail later,²³⁹ refers to the *ordo Drugonthie*, not to the *ecclesia Drogonthie*.²⁴⁰ In this context *ordo* means succession, and specifically the succession of the rite of spiritual baptism, or the *consolamentum*, by which Cathars were admitted to membership of their Church. In the only complete text of the Cathar *Ritual* which survives, the presiding elder (*anzianus*), in his address to the candidates before their consoling, states: 'The Church of God has held fast, from the time of the Apostles until now, to this holy baptism through which the Holy Spirit is given, and it has been handed down from good men (*bos homes*) to good men until now, and it will continue to be so until the end of the world.'²⁴¹ The Cathar *Ritual* is also known in a partial Latin version of the text written in Italy in c. 1235–50, and although it and the Provençal version, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, differ at some points, they are substantially in agreement.²⁴² The many references in Inquisition depositions and in works of Catholic polemic to Cathar forms of service provide conclusive evidence that all Cathars shared a common *Ritual* but with local variations. M.R. Harris has argued convincingly that both the Latin and Provençal texts derive from a Latin archetype.²⁴³

²³⁷ Dragometia in the Saint Félix document, see n. 389 below; Drugonthia in the anonymous *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, see p. 64 below; Druguithia, Digunthia and Digunnicia in Sacconi, *Summa*, p. 50.

²³⁸ I. Dujčev, 'Dragvista-Dragovitia', *REB* 22 (1964), pp. 218–19; Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 158–9.

²³⁹ See below, p. 64.

²⁴⁰ A. Dondaine, 'La hiérarchie cathare en Italie. I. Le *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*', *AFP* 19 (1949), p. 306.

²⁴¹ Clédât, ed., *Le Nouveau Testament*, p. xvii.

²⁴² *Rituel Cathare*, ed Thouzellier.

²⁴³ M.R. Harris, 'Prolégomènes à l'histoire textuelle du Rituel cathare occitan', *Heresis*, 6 (1986), pp. 5–13.

The use of the *Ritual* is first attested among the Cathars of Cologne in 1163. Eckbert of Schönau reports: 'That wretch who is to be baptised, or, rather, to be Catharized, is placed in the midst [of the assembly]. And the chief Cathar ministers to him, holding in his hand the book appointed for this purpose.'²⁴⁴ Christine Thouzellier, who edited the Latin *Ritual*, argued that it was derived from Western sources, but as Duvernoy pointed out, the only direct evidence of this which she could produce related to the gloss on the Lord's Prayer, which is the only part of the Latin text which may be extemporized by the officiating Cathar.²⁴⁵ In fact, all the evidence points to an eastern origin for the *Ritual*. The rite of initiation, which is its central text, conforms very closely to the descriptions of Bogomil baptism given by Euthymius of the Periblepton and by Euthymius Zigabenus.²⁴⁶ Moreover, the rubrics in the *Ritual* about the public recitation of the Lord's Prayer agree with Zigabenus's description of Bogomil practice.²⁴⁷

No text of the Bogomil *Ritual* is known, but part of a Slavonic *Ritual*, written by Radoslav the Christian in the reign of King Stephen Thomas of Bosnia (1443–61), is now in the Vatican Library.²⁴⁸ This text closely resembles the opening prayers in the Provençal *Ritual* of Lyons (that section is missing from the fragmentary Latin *Ritual*). It is possible that the translation into Slavonic was made from a Western exemplar, because there were strong links between the Cathar Church of Bosnia and some of the Cathar Churches of the West,²⁴⁹ but it is also possible that the *Ritual* of Radoslav was copied from a Bogomil exemplar. Some experts in Old Slavonic palaeography have claimed that in some parts of this manuscript Radoslav was trying to reproduce the characters of a twelfth-century archetype, but of their nature, such judgments cannot be conclusive.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁴ 'Statuitur in medio infelix ille qui baptizandus sive Catharizandus est. Et assistit ei archicatharus, tenens in manu libellum deputatum ad officium hoc.' Eckbert, *Sermo* II, *PL*, 195, col. 51.

²⁴⁵ Duvernoy, 'Addition au chapitre le baptême', *La religion des Cathares*, unnumbered pages at the end of the book.

²⁴⁶ Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Liber Invektivus*, *PG* 131, 55; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 16, *PG* 130, 1311–14.

²⁴⁷ 'They say their prayers, some ten times over with genuflexions, some fifteen, some more or less'.

²⁴⁸ MS Borgiano Illyrico 12, fos. 56–8, printed by Thouzellier, *Rituel Cathare*, pp. 287–9.

²⁴⁹ See below, pp. 95–6.

²⁵⁰ Thouzellier, *Rituel Cathare*, pp. 64–5.

The combined evidence of Byzantine and Western sources leaves little room to doubt that the Bogomils and the Cathars used a common *Ritual*, translated into different languages and with local variations. It was this book which contained directions about the administration of baptism in the Holy Spirit, which the Cathars called the *consolamentum*. This was the *ordo* which all the dualist communities of East and West agreed was essential to salvation.

All Cathar communities, irrespective of the mother-church from which they traced their succession, observed a common way of life. This entailed total renunciation of sexual activity, the observance of strict dietary laws, frequent fasting, regular hours of prayer, the renunciation of personal property and worldly status, and obedience to the leaders of the Cathar Church. In this regard the members of the *ordo* of Drugunthia did not differ from other Cathars. What did distinguish the Western Cathar churches affiliated to that *ordo* from other Cathars was their cosmology. The anonymous author of the *De Heresi Catharorum* reports:

Marchisius of Soiano, the Bishop of [the Cathars] of Desenzano, and Amizo his Elder Son, the prelates of that part of the Cathars who belong to the *ordo* of Drugunthia, believe and preach that there are two Gods and Lords, without beginning and without end, one good and the other entirely evil. And they say that each God created angels, the Good God good angels and the Evil God evil angels, and that the Good God is almighty in the heavenly kingdom and the Evil God is ruler in the whole of this earthly creation.²⁵¹

This is corroborated by all writers, both Catholics and Cathars, who describe the beliefs of the members of the Drugunthian *ordo*.²⁵²

Unlike the Bogomils of Bulgaria and those of Byzantium, and their daughter-churches in the West, the members of the *ordo* of Drugunthia were absolute dualists, not mitigated dualists. Obolensky, having initially argued that they were Paulicians, not Bogomils,²⁵³ later came to agree that the ascetic lifestyle and the forms of initiation, organization and worship used by members of the *ordo* of Drugunthia

²⁵¹ *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 309.

²⁵² The authorities are discussed by M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 196–204.

²⁵³ 'It is legitimate to suppose that . . . the *Ecclesia Dugunthiae* [refers] to the Paulician communities of Thrace, and perhaps also to a later, and local, evolution of Bogomilism under the influence of Paulicianism.' Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 161.

were identical with those used by the Bogomils and the Cathars.²⁵⁴ How this combination of Paulician theology and Bogomil asceticism came about is suggested by the location of Drugunthia, which is near Philippopolis where John I Tzimisces had settled a large group of Paulicians in 975.²⁵⁵ Anna Comnena reports that in the twelfth century they still formed a substantial part of the population there, but that Bogomils were to be found there as well.²⁵⁶ The Paulicians are known to have had some influence on the development of Bogomilism. Zigabenus reports, for example, that the followers of Basil at Constantinople rejected the Orthodox emperors together with the Orthodox Church: 'they banish all the pious emperors from the fold of Christians and they say that only the Iconoclasts are orthodox and faithful, especially Copronymus.'²⁵⁷ Copronymus was Constantine V (741–75). The Bogomil movement was not founded until almost 200 years after his death and had no reason to commemorate him, not least because he had been an inveterate enemy of the Bulgarian khans.²⁵⁸ The Paulicians, by contrast, had every reason to revere his memory. They had not merely been free from persecution during his reign, but he had also enabled them to settle in Thrace.²⁵⁹ Basil of Constantinople and his followers were mitigated dualists, but had obviously had some contact with the Paulicians which had shaped their attitude to the Byzantine past. This had most probably come about through the conversion of one or more Paulicians to their faith.

The Church of Drugunthia would seem to have come into being as a result of interaction between the two faiths. In circumstances which are not known, Paulicians and Bogomils merged to form a single communion, which had a Paulician theology but Bogomil forms of worship, organization and asceticism. This was clearly a local occurrence, not part of any general merging of the two traditions which remained distinct movements throughout the rest of the

²⁵⁴ D. Obolensky, 'Papas Nicetas: a Byzantine Dualist in the land of the Cathars', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII (1983), pp. 489–500.

²⁵⁵ See above, p. 34.

²⁵⁶ 'There were several ways in which [Philippopolis] was unfortunate, but especially in the presence there of many impious people. For the Armenians had taken possession of this city, together with those called Bogomils . . . as well as the most impious Paulicians', *Alexiad*, XIV, viii, 3, ed. Leib, III, pp. 178–9.

²⁵⁷ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, XXVII, 11, *PG* 130, 1307–8.

²⁵⁸ J.V.A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 76–8.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 34.

Middle Ages.²⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the *ordo* of Drugunthia became influential, particularly among the Cathars. This is known from a number of Western sources.

3. *The Links Between Bogomils and Catharism*

The most coherent account of the links between Bogomilism and Catharism is contained in the *Tractatus de Hereticis*. Although this is a late source, it agrees well with the rest of the evidence. This work is preserved in a single manuscript, now in the national Museum of Budapest, dating from the fifteenth century.²⁶¹ The author identifies himself only as *frater A*,²⁶² but Dondaine, who discovered and edited this text, argues from internal evidence that he was almost certainly a Dominican friar, Anselm of Alessandria, who is first recorded in 1256 as conducting an inquisition at Genoa.²⁶³ At that time Rainier Sacconi was Inquisitor for Lombardy and Anselm would therefore have been subordinate to him. The author's association with Rainier is implicit in the *Tractatus* which refers to Rainier's *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, written in c. 1250, as authoritative.²⁶⁴ Dondaine argues that Anselm's *Tractatus* was written as a supplement to Rainier's work to deal with areas which Rainier had not covered and to bring his information up to date. Anselm was in a good position to do this because on 26 January 1267 he was appointed by his provincial as Inquisitor for Lombardy and the March of Genoa, a post he held until at least 1278–9.²⁶⁵ To judge from internal evidence, the main body of the *Tractatus* seems to have been written between 1260–70, but later additions were made to it.²⁶⁶

Anselm was unusual among inquisitors and, indeed, among Catholic heresiologists in general, in being interested in the history of Catharism.

²⁶⁰ See p. 35 above.

²⁶¹ It appears formerly to have existed in other copies and to have circulated more widely. The text, for example, was known to Bernard Gui. A. Dondaine, 'La hiérarchie cathare en Italie. II. Le *Tractatus de hereticis* d'Anselme d'Alexandrie, O.P. III. Catalogue de la hiérarchie cathare d'Italie', *AFP* 20 (1950), pp. 250, 255.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁶⁴ 'Anno Domini MoCCoLo compilatum est fideliter per dictum fratrem R[ainerium] opus superius annotatum', *ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 259–62.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 254–9.

He was not, of course, able in any modern academic sense to undertake research into that history, but he did investigate and record what the Italian Cathars knew about their own history, and particularly about the origins of the schisms which plagued them, and he considered those reports in a critical way.

He begins his account, as many Catholic apologists writing about Catharism did, by naming Mani as the ultimate source of the dualist tradition: 'It must be recorded that there was a certain man living in Persia called Mani, who . . . alleged that there are two principles'. He continues: '[Mani] taught in the regions of Drugontia and Bulgaria and Philadelphia, and that heresy spread there so that they appointed three bishops: one for Drugontia, another for Bulgaria and another for Philadelphia'.²⁶⁷ Anselm's informants almost certainly had no detailed knowledge about the earlier history of the eastern dualist churches from which they had received their faith, but probably supposed that those churches had been founded by the Apostles since they believed that theirs was the true Church.²⁶⁸ Anselm related the names of those churches which his informants told him to Mani, traditionally regarded as the founder of dualism. Western heresiologists in the Middle Ages believed that all Christian dualists were descended from the Manichees, though modern scholarship has shown this opinion to be unfounded.

As will appear from Anselm's account and also from the other sources to be discussed below, the Cathar churches of Italy traced their descent directly (or in the case of those which had links with Bosnia, indirectly) to either Bulgaria or Drugunthia. The third of Anselm's 'original' churches should almost certainly be identified with that of Philadelphia in *Romania*, mentioned in c. 1250 as one of the sixteen Cathar churches by Rainier Sacconi in his *Summa*.²⁶⁹ In the thirteenth century *Romania* normally meant the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which at its greatest extent consisted of Thrace, Greece (except Epirus), some of the Greek islands and part of Bithynia, but

²⁶⁷ 'Notandum quod in Persia fuit quidam qui vocabatur Manes, qui . . . posuit duo principia. Et docuit in partibus Drugontie et Bulgarie et Filadelfie; et multiplicati ibi est heresis ita quod fecerunt tres episcopos: Drugontie, alius Bulgarie, alius Filadelfie'. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

²⁶⁸ B. Hamilton, 'The Cathars and the Seven Churches of Asia', in J. Howard-Johnstone, ed., *Byzantium and the West c. 850–c. 1200* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 269–95.

²⁶⁹ Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

there is no city called Philadelphia in those areas.²⁷⁰ Before 1204 *Romania* had been used by Western writers to designate the entire Byzantine Empire.²⁷¹ There were two cities named Philadelphia in Asia Minor: Philadelphia *parva* was a bishopric in the province of Seleucia, while Philadelphia of Lydia was an important fortress recaptured from the Turks by John II in 1119, which remained in Byzantine possession until 1391.²⁷² Dondaine is almost certainly correct in arguing that it is to Philadelphia in Lydia that the references in Sacconi and Anselm relate.²⁷³ This area had been the scene of an appearance of Bogomilism towards the end of the reign of Basil II (976–1025): it was led by a *papa* named John Tzurillas, whose trial was witnessed by Euthymius of the Periblepton as a young man.²⁷⁴ It is not known why the Italian Cathars attached the importance to the church of Philadelphia which they clearly did, unless they supposed that it had survived as a centre of pure Cathar faith since the time of St. John the Divine.²⁷⁵

Anselm's reference to the appointment of bishops in the first dualist churches of the east is certainly anachronistic. Nevertheless, he was not misrepresenting the practice of the Cathar and Bogomil churches after c. 1140, the period with which he is chiefly concerned. The early Bogomil leaders were styled *pop* or *papa*, presumably following the example of *pop* Bogomil who had begun his life as an Orthodox priest (*pop* in Old Slavonic). That title was used by John Tzurillas and later by Nicetas of Constantinople.²⁷⁶ Early sources do not attribute any other titles to Bogomil leaders, although Anna Comnena speaks of 'apostles' who assisted the heresiarch Basil, while the Synodikon of Tsar Boril uses a similar term to describe the leaders of the movement who succeeded Bogomil.²⁷⁷ The terms *papa* and

²⁷⁰ Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 158–60.

²⁷¹ E.g. Stephen of Blois, while on the First Crusade in 1098, wrote to his wife how after the capture of Nicaea 'totius Romaniae partes Domino adquisivimus', ed. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, no. X (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 149–52.

²⁷² W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), pp. 365, 452, 381.

²⁷³ A. Dondaine, *Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle, le "Liber de duobus principibus"*, suivi d'un *Rituel Cathare* (Rome, 1939), p. 62.

²⁷⁴ The trial took place at Acmonia, not far from Philadelphia, Euthymius of the Periblepton, *Epistola Inactiva*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, pp. 66–7.

²⁷⁵ Rev. 3:7–13.

²⁷⁶ See n. 274 above and pp. 73–89.

²⁷⁷ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, viii, 3, ed. Leib, III, p. 219; Synodikon of Boril, 1, in B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, p. 261.

pope could not be used by the Cathars in Western Europe without causing grave misunderstanding because in the West that title was reserved to the pope.

In the course of the twelfth century the Bogomils and Cathars introduced an hierarchical structure in their churches. Each church was presided over by a bishop, who had jurisdiction over a defined territorial area and was assisted by two coadjutors, known as his Elder and Younger Sons. When the bishop died his Elder Son automatically succeeded him, his Younger Son became the new Elder Son, and a new Younger Son was elected by the senior Cathars.²⁷⁸ The Cathars also appointed deacons to administer local districts on the bishop's behalf.²⁷⁹ The offices of bishop and deacon are found in the New Testament, and no doubt that is why the Cathars and Bogomils adopted them,²⁸⁰ but the offices of Elder and Younger Sons are unique to the Cathars and Bogomils, and almost certainly reflect the way in which they understood the Divinity as comprising the Good God and his Elder and Younger Sons, Lucifer and Christ. It is not possible to tell whether this system originated with the Cathars and was adopted by the Bogomils, or whether the reverse was true. The Bogomils of Constantinople did not have a bishop in Alexius I's reign when their leader Basil was put on trial. The first known Cathar bishop is recorded in 1143 at Cologne;²⁸¹ and the first known Bogomil bishop was Simon of Drugunthia who consecrated Nicetas of Constantinople and must have lived at about the same time as the Cologne bishop.²⁸² It was not just the radical Bogomils of Drugunthia who adopted episcopal government in the twelfth century. Rainier Sacconi reports that by the end of that century the Bogomil Church of Bulgaria had a Bishop and an Elder Son.²⁸³ Obolensky has argued that 'the existence of an organized hierarchy among the Bogomils [of Bulgaria] from the middle of the twelfth century is *prima facie* a probable supposition', and he suggests that the *dedec* of Sredec mentioned in the Synodikon of Tsar Boril was

²⁷⁸ Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 48.

²⁷⁹ 'Et est notandum quod episcopus et filii habent in singulis civitatibus, maxime in quibus morantur Cathari, singulos dyacones', *ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁸⁰ E.g. I Tim. 3:1–13; Phil. 1:1.

²⁸¹ See above, p. 5.

²⁸² See below, p. 93.

²⁸³ Bishop Nazarius of Concorezzo 'dixit quod habuit hunc errorem ab episcopo et filio maiore ecclesie Bulgarie iam fere elapsis annis LX', wrote Sacconi in c. 1250, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 58.

in fact the Bogomil Bishop of Sofia and perhaps 'the supreme leader of all the Bulgarian Bogomils, though this cannot be affirmed with any degree of certainty'.²⁸⁴

Anselm begins his account of the spread of Bogomilism by reporting that Greeks from Constantinople went to Bulgaria to trade, where some of them were converted to dualism and after their return home appointed a bishop who was Bishop of the Greeks of Constantinople.²⁸⁵ Anselm's information is correct. Bogomilism did reach the Byzantine capital from Bulgaria, though at first its supporters there were not led by bishops but by religious teachers such as the doctor Basil.²⁸⁶

Anselm then records: 'After this Franks went to Constantinople to conquer land and encountered that sect, and, having grown in number, they appointed a bishop who is known as the Bishop of the Latins'.²⁸⁷ The existence of a Cathar/Bogomil Church of the Latins of Constantinople in the thirteenth century is attested by Rainier Sacconi,²⁸⁸ but he says nothing about its earlier history. Anselm places its foundation after that of the Greek Bogomil Church of Constantinople, which is known to have been made in the first half of the eleventh century,²⁸⁹ and explains that the catalyst was a crusade. Since he goes on to ascribe the introduction of organized Catharism in Western Europe to the work of the Latin Church of Constantinople, and since some of the events he describes can be securely dated to the 1160s and 1170s, he cannot be alluding to the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Indeed, he does not say that the Franks were trying to capture Byzantine land, merely that they wanted to capture land in the East, a description which would apply to any crusade. Christine Thouzellier suggested that Anselm was referring to the Second Crusade when, in 1147, a large French crusading army led by Louis VII had passed through Byzantine territory.²⁹⁰ This is possible but not very likely. The French forces only stayed in Constan-

²⁸⁴ Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 244–5.

²⁸⁵ *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

²⁸⁶ See above, pp. 38–41.

²⁸⁷ 'Postea Francigene iverunt Constantinopolim ut subiugarent terram et invenerunt istam sectam et multiplicati fecerunt episcopum, qui dicitur episcopus latinorum', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

²⁸⁸ *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

²⁸⁹ See above, pp. 38–41.

²⁹⁰ C. Thouzellier, 'Hérésie et croisade au XII^e siècle', in *Hérésie et Hérétiques*, pp. 22–5.

tinople for less than a month in October 1147,²⁹¹ while the fact that the Patriarch Cosmas II had been deposed for alleged Bogomil sympathies earlier in the year would surely have led the Bogomils in the city to remain in hiding.²⁹²

It is more probable that Anselm's informants were referring to the First Crusade, or perhaps to its ancillary expedition, the Crusade of 1101, when quite large numbers of Western troops stayed in or near Constantinople for several months.²⁹³ More than any other Crusade, the First was concerned with conquering land, not with regaining or defending land; and all its participants, even those who served under Godfrey of Bouillon, vassal of the Western Emperor, described themselves as Franks. There is some support for this interpretation in the tract *De Catharis* of St. Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). She was abbess of the Benedictine convent of Rupertsberg near Mainz and a scholar, composer and visionary. She wrote her tract about the Cathars in 1163. The date is significant, for Hildegard was a friend of St. Elizabeth of Schönau, the sister of Eckbert of Schönau who played a leading part in prosecuting a group of Cathars at Cologne in that year and who wrote the first detailed account of their faith.²⁹⁴ Hildegard was therefore in a position to be well informed about the Cathars. She saw them as fulfilling the prophetic vision of the Apocalypse of St. John. Thus, while on a spiritual level the King of the Bottomless Pit had been released to do his will in this world, and subsequently the 'four angels bound at the great river Euphrates' were also released to assist him in creating havoc,²⁹⁵ the human manifestation of these supernatural events were, in Hildegard's

²⁹¹ The French army arrived in Constantinople on 4 October and left soon after 26 October, R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1934–6), II, pp. 238–9.

²⁹² See above, p. 46.

²⁹³ The first bands of crusaders reached Constantinople on 20 July 1096 and the last army left on 29 May 1097, H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094–1100)* (Paris, 1902), pp. 31, 74. The first army of the 1101 Crusade reached Constantinople in late February 1101 and the last army left on 12 July of that year, H. Hagenmeyer, 'Chronologie de l'histoire du royaume de Jérusalem. Règne de Baudouin I (1101–1118)', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 9 (1902), pp. 399, 448.

²⁹⁴ B. Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley, 1989); *Sanctae Elizabeth vita, partim ab ipsamet dictata, partim ab Eckberto fratre scripta*, PL 195, 120–4; St. Hildegard, *Epistola X, De Catharis*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1876–82), VIII, p. 349.

²⁹⁵ Rev. 9:11, 14–15.

view, the Cathars, who spread through the world bringing with them spiritual death.

Hildegard dated these two events precisely. She says of the release of the Devil, the King of the Bottomless Pit: 'But sixty years and twenty and four months have passed, since the old serpent, wearing clothes decked with amulets, began to lead the people astray'.²⁹⁶ The description of the Devil's dress is not found in St. John, but is Hildegard's addition, perhaps derived from the imagery of one of her visions. The date she gives is ambiguous, in that it could be read to mean either 'eighty years and four months' ('sixty years and twenty[years] and four months'), or 'sixty-two years' ('sixty years and twenty-four months'). The first interpretation would give a date of 1083, whereas the second, preferred by the editor, would give a date of 1101. 1083 might have had significance for Hildegard because in that year the Emperor Henry IV drove Pope Gregory VII from St. Peter's and installed the antipope Clement III there,²⁹⁷ but that event had no relevance to the growth of Catharism, the subject of Hildegard's tract. 1101 was the year in which the final expeditions of the First Crusade left the West and might therefore, in Hildegard's view, have represented the West's initial contact with the dualist movement in Byzantine territory. Her dating of the release of the four angels and the beginning of the spread of Catharism is straightforward: 'For twenty-three years and four months have passed since, through the wicked works of men, which are blown out from the mouth of the black beast, the four winds have been set in motion by the four angels of [the earth's] corners, causing great destruction.'²⁹⁸ This gives a date of March 1140 and it is possible that the Cathars put on trial at Cologne in 1143 by Everwin of Steinfeld had begun their mission there three years before. This group of Cathars, moreover, claimed that their faith originated in the Byzantine Empire. Hildegard, as a member of the Catholic establishment of the Rhineland, was

²⁹⁶ 'Sed tamen sexaginta anni sunt atque viginti et quatuor menses, quod antiquus serpens cum phylacteriis vestimentorum populos deludere cepit'.

²⁹⁷ Gregorovius, *City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, IV (I), pp. 229–31.

²⁹⁸ 'Nam viginti et tres anni et quatuor menses sunt, quod a perversis operibus hominum, quod ab ore nigrae bestiae efflantur, quatuor venti per quatuor angelos angularum in magnam ruinam moti sunt'. In both dates which she gives the measure of four months occurs, because Hildegard was writing in July and using a new year reckoning which began on Lady Day, 25 March.

in a position to know about this.²⁹⁹ Hildegard's tract therefore suggests that she supposed that Catharism, which threatened the Catholic faith of the West, had its roots in the contacts made in the Byzantine world with dualist heretics by participants in the 1101 crusade.

Anselm of Alessandria continues his account of the spread of Christian dualism by relating how, after the foundation of the Latin Church in Constantinople, 'certain men from Sclavonia, that is from the land which is called Bosnia, went to Constantinople to trade. Returning to their land they preached there, and increasing in number appointed a bishop who was known as the Bishop of Sclavonia, or of Bosnia'.³⁰⁰ Sclavonia was a term which designated the western Balkans. It comprised not only Bosnia, but also the Dalmatian coast of Croatia. These areas did not form part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but were part of the Latin Church and subject to papal authority. Although the Latin liturgy was normally used there, in some places Mass of the Latin rite was celebrated in Old Slavonic, a form known as the Glagolitic Mass.³⁰¹ Bosnia was officially a province of the kingdom of Hungary, although as Fine has observed, in practice its Bans were virtually independent in the twelfth century.³⁰² Control of the Dalmatian coast and its important mercantile cities was contested throughout much of the twelfth century between Hungary, Byzantium and Venice, but from 1167–81 it was under Byzantine control. This ended in 1181 when Hungary regained the province while Mary of Antioch was Byzantine regent.³⁰³

If Anselm's sequence of Cathar/Bogomil church foundations is correct, then the Church of Slavonia must have been founded in the first half of the twelfth century, before any of the Western Cathar Churches. It should be remembered that his informants were Lombard Cathars and they may merely have told him that the Slavonian Church was older than their own. The earliest evidence for the presence of an organized dualist church in Dalmatia comes from the

²⁹⁹ See above, p. 5.

³⁰⁰ 'quidam de Sclavonia, scilicet de terra que dicitur Bossona, iverunt Constantinopolim causa mercacionis; reversi ad terram suam predicaverunt et, multiplicati, constituerunt eiscopum qui dicitur episcopus Sclavonie sive Bossone', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

³⁰¹ Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 266–73, 280–1; Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 17–21.

³⁰² Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 288.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 289–90; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 264–6, 281–4.

Saint-Félix document of c. 1170, which alludes to it as firmly established but gives no details about the date of its foundation.³⁰⁴

More detailed information about this church is given in the *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*. The full text of this work survives in only one manuscript, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, now in the University Library of Basle. The text was once more widely disseminated. Parts of it were cited by the anonymous author of the *Brevis Summula* of Cathar doctrine writing in c. 1250, and some of the historical information it contains was known to Nicholas Vignier, who published a history of the Church in 1601, but who does not describe the manuscript he used, simply citing as his source 'un ancien auteur'. The *De heresi* does not date the events it describes and Vignier assigned the information it gives to the year 1023 for reasons which are not known.³⁰⁵ That passage was first identified as relevant to Cathar history by Charles Schmidt in 1848.³⁰⁶ The text of the Basle manuscript has been edited by Dondaine. The author was a Catholic, but his identity is not known. From internal evidence it would appear that he wrote his account in the early thirteenth century, and certainly before 1215.³⁰⁷

According to the *De heresi*, there was a Cathar bishop in Slavonia before 1200 who consecrated bishops for the Cathars of Mantua and Vicenza.³⁰⁸ As Anselm's account implies, Catharism seems to have developed first in the mercantile cities of Dalmatia. Archbishop Peter of Split in 1186 forbade the holding of conventicles in his province, a decision which Urban III upheld; he does not specify who the dissenters were, but they may have been Cathars.³⁰⁹ His successor, Archbishop Bernard, informed Innocent III that he had expelled Cathars from Split and Trogir and that they had taken refuge in Bosnia.³¹⁰ It is not known whether these were the first dualists to enter that province. Prince Vukan of Dioclea informed Innocent III in 1199 that Ban Kulin of Bosnia and 10,000 of his subjects had become

³⁰⁴ See below, pp. 83, 87.

³⁰⁵ C. Douais, *La somme des autorités à l'usage des prédicateurs méridionaux au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1896); Nicolas Vignier, *Recueil de l'histoire de l'Eglise* (Leiden, 1601), p. 268.

³⁰⁶ Ch. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, 2 vols. (Paris, Geneva, 1848–9), I, p. 145.

³⁰⁷ Dondaine, 'Le "De heresi Catharorum"', *AFP* 19, pp. 280–312.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³⁰⁹ Urban III, *Epistola et Privilegia*, LXVI, *PL* 202, 1446–9.

³¹⁰ *Acta Innocentii papae III (1198–1216)*, ed. T. Haluscinski, *CICO*, ser. III, vol. II (Vatican City, 1944), no. 19, p. 209.

Patarenes (there is no doubt that by Innocent's reign this term was interchangeable with Cathars).³¹¹ Papal negotiations with the Ban, and the threat of military intervention by his overlord, the King of Hungary, led to the Agreement of Bilino Polje in 1203, by which, in the presence of a papal legate, the Ban, and representatives of the King of Hungary, the seven priors of the communities 'of those who until now have been uniquely privileged to be called Christians in the land of Bosnia' undertook to conform to Catholic norms of worship and faith in certain specified ways.³¹² Because the dissidents are not called Cathars or Bogomils and are not accused of being dualists, some scholars have claimed that they were not Cathars but a group of dissenting reformers.³¹³ Obviously Ban Kulin's political enemies had exaggerated his own involvement in heresy and the extent of its success in his state; nevertheless, the way in which the dissidents arrogated the name Christian to themselves alone is reminiscent of the comment by Euthymius of the Periblepton that Byzantine Bogomils simply called themselves Christians.³¹⁴ Moreover, the fact that the Bosnian priors had to agree to have their chapels furnished with altars, crosses and complete texts of the Bible, and to pledge themselves to celebrate Mass and the Divine Office regularly, shows that these were innovations forced upon them.³¹⁵ These communities closely resemble those found in Southern France at that time, in which single-sex groups of Cathars lived and worked together and called themselves 'good men/women'.³¹⁶

It is not clear from Anselm's account whether the first Dalmatian converts owed their faith to the Greek or Latin Bogomil Church of Constantinople. It seems possible, since the established religion of Dalmatia and Bosnia was Latin Catholic, that the mission was undertaken by the Church of the Latins. This cannot be known for certain,

³¹¹ Part of this text is cited *ibid.*, p. 48; the whole is ed. in Innocent III, *Regesta* II, no. CLXXVI, PL 214, 725–6.

³¹² *Acta Innocentii III*, ed. Halusćinski, no. 36, pp. 235–7.

³¹³ J.V.A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church; a new interpretation* (Boulder, 1975), pp. 126–34.

³¹⁴ See p. 38 above.

³¹⁵ 'In omnibus locis . . . ubi fratrum conventus commoratur oratoria habemus, in quibus fratres de nocte ad matutinas et diebus ad horas cantandas publice simul convenimus. In omnibus autem ecclesiis habebimus altaria et cruces; libros vero tam novi quam veteris testamenti . . . legemus. Per singula loca nostra habebimus sacerdotes, qui dominicis et festivis diebus ad minus missas . . . debeant celebrare', *Acta Innocentii III*, ed. Halusćinski, no. 36, p. 236.

³¹⁶ E. Griffe, *Le Languedoc Cathare de 1190 à 1210* (Paris, 1971).

but the local Catholic authorities believed that the Patarenos of Dalmatia and Bosnia had received their faith from a Latin source. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, writing the history of his church in c. 1260, reported how in the reign of Archbishop Bernard (c. 1180–c. 1204) two brothers, Matthew and Aristodius, who were goldsmiths, introduced Catharism into Bosnia. He adds, ‘although they came from an Apulian family they had been citizens of Zadar since boyhood’.³¹⁷ Thus the local Catholic clergy believed that the Cathars had links with Italy rather than with Byzantium.

The *De heresi* reports that the Bosnian/Dalmatian Cathars were mitigated dualists: ‘Caloioannes, bishop of one part of the heretics [of Lombardy] who received their *ordo* from Sclavonia, and Garattus, a bishop of another group of [Lombard] heretics who received their *ordo* from Bulgaria, believe and preach that there is one good God, who is almighty and without beginning, who created the angels and the four elements’.³¹⁸ The *De heresi* also reports one article of faith unique to the Church of Sclavonia: ‘They believe that in the time of grace the Son of God, that is Jesus Christ, and John the Evangelist and Mary were three angels appearing in flesh’.³¹⁹ It is not clear whether they had learned this teaching from whichever Church of Constantinople it was which had evangelised them, or whether it was their own contribution to their understanding of the moderate dualist version of the Christian faith. The latter seems more likely, because no other Cathar or Bogomil community is known to have shared this belief except for the daughter churches of Slavonia in Lombardy. Cathars and Bogomils had no agreed profession of faith corresponding to the creeds accepted by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and although the fundamental principles of their faith did not change, new explanations of those principles and new interpretations of the sacred texts kept being made by them. Consequently there was considerable diversity of belief and opinion within the

³¹⁷ ‘hi quamvis erant ex patre Appulo, erant tamen a pueritia Jaderenses cives effecti’, Thomas the Archdeacon, *Historia Salonitanorum Pontificum . . . usque ad Rogerium*, ch. xxiii, ed. F. Rački, *Monumenta spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, 26 (Zagreb, 1894), p. 80.

³¹⁸ ‘Caloioannes episcopus unius partis hereticorum, qui habent ordinem suam de Sclavania, et Garattus episcopus alterius partis . . . qui habent ordinem suum de Bulgaria, credunt et predicant unum bonum Deum omnipotentem, sine principio, qui creavit angelos et IIIor elementa’, *De heresi*, *AFP* 19, p. 310.

³¹⁹ ‘tempore gratie credunt quod filius Dei, scilicet Ihesus Christus, et Johannes ewangelista (sic) et Maria fuerunt tres angeli apparentes in carne’, *ibid.*, p. 311.

Cathar churches, much of which did not prove controversial because there was no standard of orthodoxy which it offended.

Anselm of Alessandria next reports that after the Church of Slavonia had been set up, 'the Franks who had gone to Constantinople returned to their own land and preached, and having increased in numbers, appointed a Bishop of France. And because the Franks had first been corrupted in Constantinople by the Bulgars, throughout the whole of France they call the heretics Bulgars.'³²⁰ If, as Anselm reports, Catharism was brought to the West in the twelfth century by members of the Church of the Latins of Constantinople who had stayed there after a crusade and been instructed in the mitigated dualist form of Bogomilism, this would explain why Bogomil missionaries are not reported at work in the West in twelfth-century sources, because the missions would have been led by 'Franks'. Frankish missionaries would have been able to preach without interpreters, and they would already have made a Latin translation of the Bogomil *Ritual* in Constantinople for their own use, which they would have brought to the West with them for immediate use by Western converts.³²¹

Anselm only knew about those missions to the West which had affected the growth of Catharism in Lombardy and were remembered by the Cathar churches there. There undoubtedly were others, for example the mission to Cologne and the Rhineland.³²² The Church of Francia, whose foundation he describes, was the church of northern France, the area of royal power in the twelfth century. The existence of this church is corroborated by the Saint-Félix document and the *Summa* of Rainier Sacconi,³²³ while the presence of Cathars in northern France is attested in a far wider range of sources.³²⁴

Anselm does not date this foundation. It is possible that Catharism entered northern France as early as 1114 when Clement and Everard of Bucy were tried by Bishop Lisiard of Soissons for heresy. Abbot Guibert of Nogent, who helped to examine them, has left an account

³²⁰ 'Postea Francigene, qui iverant Constantinopolim, redierunt ad propria et predicaverunt, et multiplicati constituerunt episcopum Francie. Et quia Francigene seducti fuerunt primo in Constantinopoli a Bulgaris, vocant per totam Franciam hereticos Bulgaros,' *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

³²¹ See above, p. 53.

³²² Duvernoy, *L'histoire des Cathares*, pp. 107–117.

³²³ See below, pp. 83–5; Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

³²⁴ Duvernoy, *L'histoire des Cathares*, pp. 120–8.

of the proceedings which is not very coherent. He accuses them of taking part in secret orgies, but this is a *topos* in descriptions of heresies and need not be taken seriously.³²⁵ It would appear from Guibert's account that the heretics of Bucy rejected the Mass, held secret meetings for worship, refused to eat food produced by coition (which effectively meant that they were vegans), and although some of their members lived together as husband and wife, they condemned sexual intercourse in marriage. They also rejected infant baptism and had an initiation rite of their own. Moreover, Guibert claims that they taught that the reign of the Son of the Virgin was illusory. The fact that they had their own initiation ceremony suggests that this group were Cathars, and there is nothing in Guibert's description of their tenets which was incompatible with that faith. Guibert calls them Manichaeans, saying that they resembled the Manichees described by St. Augustine, although he does not directly ascribe any dualist belief to them. While he and Bishop Lisiard were attending a church council at Beauvais to seek advice about how to deal with these heretics, the local mob broke into the prison where they were held and burnt them.³²⁶ If the heretics of Bucy were Cathars, their ministry had no lasting effect.

A group of Cathars seem to have established themselves at Mont-Aimé in Champagne by the 1140s. Some of their followers reached Liège in 1145 and the cathedral clergy there arrested them and tried them for heresy. One of them, named Aimery, wished to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, and, because their bishop was absent, the canons sent him to Pope Lucius II for judgment. They also wrote a report for the pope about the heresy:

This heresy is organized by different ranks; it has Hearers, who are being trained in false belief; it has Believers, who have been deceived already; it has Christians and it has priests and other clergy, just as we have . . . The wicked blasphemies of this sect are these: it denies that sins are forgiven in baptism; it considers that the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is worthless; it asserts that the laying-on of hands by bishops is ineffective; it believes that no-one may receive the Holy Spirit unless they have deserved it by reason of their good works; it condemns marriage; it proclaims that the Catholic Church exists only in its community; it adjudges every oath to be sinful. Yet

³²⁵ Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 666–7, n. 13.

³²⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie (1053–1124)*, ed. G. Bourgin (Paris, 1907), pp. 212–15.

the members of this sect pretend to receive our sacraments in order to disguise their own wickedness.³²⁷

The heretics described in this letter have many of the characteristics of Cathars: they regard their own as the true Church, reject the Catholic Church and its sacraments, have different grades of membership, have their own hierarchy, and reject marriage. No other twelfth-century heretical group apart from the Cathars combined these characteristics, and it is safe to assume that they were Cathars, even though the Canons of Liège did not accuse them of dualism. The reference to 'their own prelates' may imply that at this time there was a Cathar Bishop of France, as Anselm of Alessandria reports.

Lucius II died on 15 February 1145 before this letter could have reached him, and no action was taken against the heretics of Mont-Aimé by the Holy See. In 1157 Archbishop Samson, presiding at the Council of Rheims, legislated against Manichees in his province, a sign that the Cathars were still active there. Mont-Aimé appears to have remained the centre of Cathar activities in northern France, for it was there in 1239 that the Inquisitor, Robert *le Bougre*, held a mass trial of Cathars. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines reports that 183 of them were burnt 'after receiving the sacrament of the *consolamentum* from their archbishop'.³²⁸

Anselm's comment that the Cathars were known as *hereticos bulgaros* throughout France, was certainly true when he wrote in the thirteenth century. The first written evidence of this dates from the beginning of that century: Robert of Auxerre, writing in Latin, uses the word, as does Philippe Mousket, writing in the vernacular,³²⁹ and the term was almost certainly used in common speech before that time. The first Cathar missionaries must themselves have supplied the information about the Bulgarian link: that the mitigated dualism which they had learnt about in Constantinople originated in Bulgaria,

³²⁷ *Epistola ecclesiae Leodiensis ad Lucium papam secundum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum et monumentorum, historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1724–33), I, 776–8. The letter is addressed to Pope L., whom the editors identified as Lucius II. Their reasons for this are not known because the manuscript they used has been lost and their printed text is the sole witness. Nevertheless, that identification seems the most satisfactory.

³²⁸ Mansi, XXI, p. 843 (Council of Rheims, 1157); Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, MGH SS, XXIII, 944.

³²⁹ Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares*, p. 309.

or, as they would probably have expressed it, they had received spiritual baptism in the Bulgarian *ordo*. The term Bulgar when used by their opponents came to have abusive connotations. Because the Cathars were opposed to marriage, and because their rule of life assigned to each of the initiated a companion of the same sex (known as a *socius* or *socia*) when travelling, they were accused of homosexuality. The meaning of *bougre* was thus broadened, and from meaning Bulgarian heretic, it came to mean bugger.³³⁰ Robert *le bougre*, the inquisitor responsible for the mass burning at Mont-Aimé in 1239, was so called because he was a convert from Catharism, but no doubt the epithet also had more robust connotations.³³¹

Anselm next relates how the *Provinciales*, the southern French, learnt of Catharism from preachers who came from the Church of Northern France and 'they increased so greatly in number that they appointed four bishops: the Bishop of Carcassonne, the Bishop of Albi, the Bishop of Toulouse and the Bishop of Agen'.³³² It would have been natural for Cathar preachers from northern France to move into Languedoc, just as the earlier reformist leader Henry of Le Mans had done.³³³ The earliest evidence for a Cathar presence in southern France comes from 1145 when St. Bernard, during a preaching mission there, encountered *Ariani* among the weavers of Toulouse.³³⁴ By 1165 the Cathars had become well established in Languedoc. In that year Bishop William of Albi assembled a distinguished gathering at Lombers, which included the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Nîmes, Toulouse, Agde and Lodève, the provosts of the cathedrals of Toulouse and Albi, the archdeacons of Narbonne and Albi, seven abbots and two priors. Also present were Raymond Trencavel, Viscount of Béziers, Constance, the sister of Louis VII of France and wife of Count Raymond V of Toulouse, and the

³³⁰ Duvernoy observes: 'Il est inutile de mentionner les sources attestant l'assimilation qui s'est produite dans la langue de la France du nord au XIII^e siècle, entre 'bougre' (Bulgare = Cathare), 'bougrerie' (hérésie), et sodomie et bestialité.' *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³³¹ C.H. Haskins, 'Robert le Bougre and the beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France', in his *Studies in the History of Medieval Culture* (New York and London, 1929), pp. 193–244.

³³² 'tantum multiplicati sunt quod fecerunt iiiior episcopos, scilicet episcopum de Carcasona, et Albigensem, et Tholosanensem et Agenensium', *Tractatus*, *AFP* 20, p. 308.

³³³ Moore, *Origins*, pp. 82–114.

³³⁴ See above, p. 6.

Viscount of Lautrec. The purpose of this assembly was to examine 'certain persons who chose to be called Good Men, and who had the support of the knights of Lombers'. The leader of the Good men was called Oliver.

Because they enjoyed the protection of the lords of Lombers, the Good Men were able to determine the grounds of the debate. Thus when asked about the faith which they taught, they refused to reply. Similarly, they refused to reveal their views about infant baptism. When questioned about the Eucharist, and whether the unworthiness of the minister affected the validity of the sacrament, they cited the words of St. Paul about unworthy reception of Holy Communion,³³⁵ but added that any good man, even if he were a layman, could perform the consecration. When asked whether wives and husbands who had consummated their marriages could be saved, they would only cite St. Paul's view that marriage was ordained to avoid fornication.³³⁶ They were questioned at some length about the validity of a confession made on a deathbed, and whether penance was an essential part of the reconciliation process. They replied by quoting St. James: 'Confess your sins to one another'³³⁷ and refused to comment on penance, except to say that he had not mentioned it. Despite their general reticence, they took a firm stand about three matters. They refused to accept the Old Testament as authoritative, either the books of Moses, or the prophets or the Psalms, but they did accept the whole of the New Testament—the Gospels, the Epistles of Paul, the seven canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation. Secondly, in obedience to the teaching of Christ in the Gospel and of St. James they refused to swear any kind of oath.³³⁸ Thirdly, they declared that if the ordained clergy did not conform to the standards laid down by St. Paul³³⁹ they no longer commanded obedience but had become ravenous wolves. When the Bishop of Lodève, as spokesman of the clergy, condemned them as heretics, they accused him of being a heretic, and refused to answer questions about their faith because Our Lord had told them: 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing

³³⁵ I Cor. 11:27–30.

³³⁶ I Cor. 7:9.

³³⁷ James 5:16.

³³⁸ Matt. 5:34–7; James 5:12.

³³⁹ I Tim. 3:2–7; Titus 1:7–9.

but inwardly are ravenous wolves.³⁴⁰ Nevertheless, they said that they were willing to make a profession of faith for the sake of the lay people who were there. Their statement of belief was completely orthodox, but they refused to confirm it on oath. They were therefore condemned as heretics by the assembly, but no action could be taken against them because they enjoyed the protection of the lords of Lombers.³⁴¹

Although this group were not accused of dualism there seems no reasonable doubt that they were Cathars. They referred to themselves as Good Men, the name which the Southern French Cathars customarily used of themselves.³⁴² Like other groups of Western mitigated dualists they rejected the Old Testament in its entirety, which none of the other dissenting groups who were not dualists did.³⁴³ They were hostile to the Catholic Church, which they regarded as a false church against which Christ had warned his followers. All Christian dualists believed that theirs was the true Church, and this distinguished them from reformist groups who wanted to restore the Catholic Church to a state of evangelical purity, not to replace it. The answers which the heretics of Lombers gave about the sacraments are also consonant with a Cathar identity: Cathars regarded infant baptism as useless because they believed that theirs was the true baptism with the Holy Spirit, the *consolamentum*.³⁴⁴ Cathars believed that all sexual relations were inherently evil, and therefore that marriage was only licit if it was not consummated.³⁴⁵ Cathars had their

³⁴⁰ Matt. 7:15.

³⁴¹ *Acta Concilii Lombardiensis*, *RHGF*, XIV, 430–4.

³⁴² The address to the candidate which precedes the *consolamentum* in the Provençal *Ritual* begins: ‘En Peire, voletz recebre lo baptisme espirital . . . ab l’empausament de las mas dels bos homes’, ed. Clédar, *Nouveau Testament*, p. xvi.

³⁴³ Dualists, both mitigated and absolute, were the only dissidents who did not believe that the Good God had made the physical universe, and thus were the only sects which rejected the creator God of the Old Testament.

³⁴⁴ ‘Manus impositio vocatur ab eis [Catharis] consolamentum, et spirituale baptismum . . . sine qua secundum eos nec peccatum mortale remittitur nec Spiritus Sanctus alicui datur’, Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 43. The only qualification concerning this principle found in the sources is the statement made by the presiding Cathar to the candidate about to be consoled, in the Latin *Ritual*: ‘Item non intelligat quisquam quod per istud baptismum quod recipere intelligitis, quod debeatis contempnere aliud baptismum, nec Christianitatem nec bonum aliquod quod fecistis vel dixistis usque tunc, sed debetis intelligere quod oportet vos recipere istud sanctum ordinamentum Christi pro supplementum illius quod deficiebat ad salutem vestram.’ *Rituel Cathare*, ed. Thouzellier, pp. 252–5.

³⁴⁵ ‘Item communis opinio Catharorum est omnium quod matrimonium carnale

own rite for confessing their sins to each other, and therefore saw no need for Catholic penitential disciplines.³⁴⁶ Cathars believed that Good Men, that is any initiated male Cathar, might celebrate the Eucharist, which they understood in an allegorical way.³⁴⁷ Moreover, it was a characteristic of Cathars as of Bogomils that they were willing to make an orthodox profession of faith, which they understood in a heterodox sense.³⁴⁸

Lombers was some ten miles south of Albi. In the time of William Peyre, Catholic Bishop of Albi (1185–1227), Sicard Cellarier, the Cathar Bishop of Albi, lived at Lombers.³⁴⁹ In the account of the synod of 1165 the Cathar leader Oliver is not called bishop, and he may not have been so, but Lombers was evidently considered an important centre of heretical activity in Languedoc at that time, otherwise such a high-powered gathering of Catholic prelates and nobles would not have met to deal with the heretics there.

The establishment of four Cathar dioceses in Languedoc mentioned by Anselm of Alessandria is accurate: the circumstances in which this happened and the date at which it occurred will be considered below.³⁵⁰ The foundation of Cathar churches in Southern France would only have been of marginal interest to Anselm's informants, because they claimed to have received their faith from the Church of Northern France (*Ecclesia Franciae*) just as the southern French had, though, by implication, at a later date.

4. Papa Nicetas of Constantinople

Anselm of Alessandria's account of the foundation of the Cathar Churches of Lombardy is corroborated by the anonymous *De heresi*

fuit semper mortale peccatum, et quod non punietur quis gravius in futuro propter adulterium vel incestum, quam propter legitimum coniugium . . .', Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 43.

³⁴⁶ The text of the Cathar rite of confession, known as the *servitium*, or sometimes as the *apparellamentum*, is in the Provençal *Ritual*, ed. Clédât, *Nouveau Testament*, pp. ix–xi.

³⁴⁷ *De fractione panis*, Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 44.

³⁴⁸ E.g. The behaviour of the Cathar leaders examined by the legatine council of Toulouse in 1178, Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, p. 152. The fullest exposition of this Cathar trait is found in Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'Inquisiteur*, ed. with French trans. G. Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926–7), I, pp. 10–33.

³⁴⁹ William of Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ch. 4, ed. Duvernoy, p. 35.

³⁵⁰ See below, pp. 85–6.

Catharorum in Lombardia. Although it was written at least fifty years before Anselm's work, the *De heresi* account is far less detailed than Anselm's. The anonymous author's chief concern is to explain why there were so many different Cathar sects in early thirteenth-century Lombardy.

In the beginning, when the heresy of the Cathars began to grow in Lombardy, they first had a certain bishop called Mark, to whose authority all [the Cathars of] Lombardy and Tuscany and the Marches were subject. And that Mark had been initiated in the *ordo* of Bulgaria.³⁵¹

This tells us nothing about Mark, except that he had originally been a mitigated dualist. Anselm's informants knew more details:

A good while later, a certain notary from northern France came to Lombardy, to the county of Milan, to the district of Concorezzo. He there met a man called Mark, who came from a place near there called Cologina and he seduced him [i.e. converted him to heresy].³⁵²

The 'long time' mentioned refers to the period which had elapsed since Catharism reached Languedoc, which happened in the 1140s. Notaries were not officials of the Cathar Church, but members who were highly valued by the Cathar hierarchy because they could draft Latin documents and, no doubt, copy texts.³⁵³ Concorezzo was a small town near Milan, which remained a centre of mitigated dualist Catharism until the mid-thirteenth century.³⁵⁴ Anselm was told that Mark had been a *ligonizator*, which means a digger, and may imply that he had been an agricultural labourer. If this is true, and not an attempt by his Catholic opponents to dismiss him as a man of no status or education, then his achievement in establishing a network of Cathar communities in north and central Italy and in keeping his followers united during his lifetime shows that he was a naturally gifted preacher, with a flair for organization. He initially

³⁵¹ 'In primis temporibus, cum heresis Catharorum in Lombardia multiplicari cepit, primum habuerunt quondam episcopum Marcum nomine, sub cuius regimine omnes Lombardi et Tussi et Marchisiani regebantur. Et iste Marcus habebat ordinem suum de Bulgaria.' *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 306.

³⁵² 'Post longum tempus quidam notarius de Francia venit in Lombardiam, scilicet in comitatu Mediolanensi, in partibus de Concorezio; et invenit ibi unum qui dicebatur Marchus, qui erat de loco ibi prope (sic) qui dicitur Cologina, et seduxit eum.' *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

³⁵³ E.g. Pierre Autier, Lambert, *The Cathars*, pp. 230–58.

³⁵⁴ Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, pp. 57–87; F. Pivola, *Storia di Concorezzo* (Concorezzo, 1978).

persuaded three of his friends to accept the new faith: John the Jew, who was a weaver, Joseph who was a smith, and Aldricus de Bando. The notary sent this group to Rocavione near Cuneo 'where the Cathars were staying who had come from France to live there'.³⁵⁵ Finding that their bishop had gone to Naples, Mark and his companions also went there and stayed there for a year. This time was presumably spent in being trained to live the austere Cathar life and in being instructed in the Cathar faith. The Bishop of France gave Mark the *consolamentum*, and then appointed him a deacon and sent him back to Concorezzo. From that base, he preached in Lombardy, in the Marches and in Tuscany, and made many converts.³⁵⁶

Anselm's account agrees in substance with that of the *De heresi*. Mark did receive his Cathar baptism in the *ordo* of Bulgaria, but it was administered by the Bishop of France, whose Church was part of the Bulgarian *ordo*. Mark was responsible for evangelizing northern Italy, but according to Anselm he was only a deacon, not a bishop as the *De heresi* asserts, when he did so. Anselm was interested in finding out when Mark's ministry had begun. In a note added to his treatise after the main text had been completed, he wrote: 'These men brought heresy into Lombardy from Naples: Mark, John the Jew, Joseph and Aldricus, in about the year 1174.'³⁵⁷ There is no indication about how he arrived at this date. He admits that it is only an approximation and, given the other evidence which will be considered below, an earlier date is indicated.

Although in the thirteenth century many Cathars were reluctant to travel, even in order to escape persecution,³⁵⁸ this was not so in the second half of the twelfth century when they seem to have been inspired with a zeal to convert the whole of Western Europe to their faith. A party of about thirty German-speaking Cathars from the Netherlands or the Rhine valley conducted a mission to England in c. 1165. They were speedily arrested, after making only one convert, and were condemned as heretics by a Council at Oxford in 1166, branded, and turned out in the countryside to die of hunger

³⁵⁵ 'ubi stabant Cathari qui venerant de Francia ad habitandum ibi', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 308.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 308–9.

³⁵⁷ 'Isti portaverunt heresim in Lonbardiam a Neapoli: Marchus, Iohannes Iudeus, Ioseph et Aldricus, circa tempus quo currebat Mclxxiiii.' *Ibid.*, p. 319.

³⁵⁸ A. Roach, *The Relationship of the Italian and Southern French Cathars* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1989).

and cold.³⁵⁹ The fact that the north French Cathar Bishop led a mission to Italy at roughly the same time is not therefore surprising. What is unexpected is that he was accompanied by a substantial number of the initiated members of his church, who settled at Rocavione. This gives the impression that they were escaping from persecution, yet there is no evidence that Cathars were brought to trial in northern France at that time. What might have alarmed them was the arrival in France in 1162 of Pope Alexander III, who had been driven from Italy by Frederick Barbarossa and the imperial antipope, Victor IV. In May 1163 Alexander presided at the Council of Tours at which he condemned heretics and called on secular authorities to punish them with confiscation of goods and imprisonment. The pope moved to Sens in October 1163 and remained there until April 1165, when he left France.³⁶⁰ Sens is only about seventy miles from Mont-Aimé and it is possible that the Cathar perfect there decided to move into imperial territory for safety because they feared prosecution by the French crown and episcopate, incited by the pope. If that were the case, the fear was not realised because the pope's energies were directed towards coordinating his supporters in the war against the Emperor Frederick.

Whatever their reason for leaving northern France, the leading members of the Cathar Church there lived at Rocavione for some years. It was in the lands of the Western Empire, and in territory held by Frederick I's loyal supporters, and they were safe there because, although the emperor did not favour heresy, his Italian interests were centred on his war with the Lombard cities.³⁶¹ That struggle may have benefited Cathar recruitment. The fact that Frederick had ordered Milan to be razed to the ground when he captured it after a long siege in 1162 may have made people living there, like Mark and his companions, more receptive to dualist teaching about the power of the evil demiurge in this world. It is not known why the Bishop of the north French Cathars went to live in

³⁵⁹ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ch. lxiii, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, RS 82 (I) (London, 1884), pp. 131–4.

³⁶⁰ Robinson, *Papacy*, pp. 140, 286–7.

³⁶¹ Frederick's opposition to heresy is clear from his association in the edict *Ad abolendam* (see p. 9 above). For his Italian wars see P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955–7), II, pp. 75–159.

Naples at that time. Possibly he wished to organize a Cathar community in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily.³⁶²

Mark's independent ministry must have lasted for some years to enable him to found Cathar congregations not only in Lombardy, but also in the Marches and in Tuscany. During that time the north French Cathars and their bishop appear to have returned to Mont-Aimé, possibly after Alexander III left France in 1165. Certainly they took no direct part in the events which followed in Lombardy.

The two main sources give different accounts of the role of Nicetas of Constantinople in the development of Lombard Catharism. The *De Heresi* records:

A certain man called *papa* Nicetas, who came to Lombardy from the region of Constantinople, began to criticize the Bulgarian *ordo* which Mark had received. Consequently Bishop Mark and his adherents began to have doubts, and abandoning the Bulgarian *ordo*, received from Nicetas that of Drugonthia.³⁶³

Anselm gives this account:

Some time later a certain man called *papa* Nicetas, who was the Bishop of those men [i.e. the heretics] of Constantinople, came [to Lombardy] and said: 'There are so many of you that you ought to have a bishop.' And so they chose the aforesaid Mark as bishop, and all the above-mentioned Lombards, Tuscans and people of the Marches accepted his authority. And *papa* Nicetas confirmed him in office.³⁶⁴

Both accounts agree that the mission of Nicetas to the West was an important event.³⁶⁵ Nicetas is a Greek name, and the title *papa* was given to certain leaders in the Bogomil churches. Nicetas would appear to have been the head of the Bogomil community of Constantinople, a successor of the doctor Basil, burnt by Alexius I. The *De heresi* gives as a reason for his visit a desire to denounce the Bulgarian

³⁶² See below, p. 91.

³⁶³ 'Adveniens quidam, papas nicheta nomine, de Constantinopolitanis partibus in Lombardiam, cepit causari ordinem Bulgarie, quem Marcus habebat. Unde Marcus episcopus cum suis subditis hesitare incipiens, relicto ordine Bulgarie, suscepit ab ipso Nicheta ordinem Drugonthie', *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 306.

³⁶⁴ 'Postea venit qui vocabatur Papas Nicheta, qui episcopus erat illorum de Constantinopolim, et dixit: "Vos estis tot quod bene expedit quod habeatis episcopum." Et sic elegerunt Marchum in episcopum, cui obediebant omnes supradicti Lombardi, Tusci et illi de Marchia. Et iste Papas Nicheta confirmavit eum', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 309.

³⁶⁵ Obolensky, 'Papas Nicetas', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII, p. 500.

ordo and to promote the *ordo* of Drugunthia. The Bulgarian *ordo* was the type of mitigated dualism which had previously been ubiquitous in the Bogomil communities of Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire as well as in the Cathar missions throughout Western Europe. The *ordo* of Drugunthia was a new form of Bogomilism, which professed a belief in absolute dualism.³⁶⁶ The Bogomil Church of Constantinople as described by Zigabenus in the early twelfth century had certainly held a mitigated dualist faith and had belonged to the Bulgarian *ordo*.³⁶⁷ It would appear that Nicetas, leader of the Bogomil community of Constantinople, had been converted to absolute dualism by Bishop Simon (or perhaps Symeon) of Drugunthia. The *De heresi* implies that Simon was the founder of the Drugunthian *ordo*, just as *pop* Bogomil had been of the Bulgarian *ordo*. Moreover it was only after Nicetas's mission to Western Europe that absolute dualism began to be reported by Catholic observers as the teaching of some Cathar communities, and to be recorded by some of those Cathars in their own writings.³⁶⁸

Anselm of Alessandria assumed that the churches of the Greek and Latin Bogomils at Constantinople had separate hierarchies from the beginning.³⁶⁹ This may have been true in the thirteenth century when he was writing, but when the Bogomils of Constantinople first received Western converts in the reign of Alexius Comnenus their church organization was not hierarchical—the Bogomils only adopted episcopal government in the course of the twelfth century.³⁷⁰ It is possible that when this change was first made there was only one dualist bishop in Constantinople and that Nicetas had jurisdiction over all the Greek and Latin dualists in the city. In that case he would have enjoyed great prestige in Western Europe because many of the Cathar churches there traced their origins to the church of Constantinople. The alternative possibility is that the Latin dualists of Constantinople had a bishop of their own at this time and that Nicetas was seeking to supplant his authority in the Western mission churches, but there is no evidence to support this view.

The *De heresi* relates that Mark of Lombardy hesitated about accepting the new teaching, and this seems likely. The theology of the

³⁶⁶ See above, pp. 51–6.

³⁶⁷ See above, p. 42.

³⁶⁸ See below, pp. 87–8.

³⁶⁹ See above, p. 60.

³⁷⁰ See above, pp. 58–9.

Drugunthian *ordo* was radically different from that of the Bulgarian *ordo*. Drugunthia taught absolute dualism, the existence of two co-eternal creative principles, which was more remote from orthodox Christian belief than the mitigated dualism of the Bulgarian *ordo*. Mark and his followers decided to make the change, and although this did not involve any alteration in the way they lived and worshipped, it did entail their receiving the *consolamentum* again at the hands of Nicetas. This was administered not just to Mark, but to all the initiated Cathars in his church.³⁷¹ Anselm of Alessandria says nothing about the re-consoling of the Lombard Cathars but stresses that Nicetas's mission was important because he consecrated Mark as a bishop and thus created an autonomous Cathar Church in Lombardy.³⁷² The apparent contradiction between the *Tractatus* and the *De heresi* is clarified by an independent and contemporary source relating to Nicetas's mission—the Saint-Félix document.

It exists only in the version printed by Guillaume Besse in 1660 in his History of Narbonne, where it is headed: 'Charte de Niquinta, Antipape des Heretiques Albigeois, contenant les Ordinations des Evesques de sa secte, par lui faites en Languedoc, à moy communiquée par feu M. Caseneuve, Prebendier au Chapitre de l'Eglise de Saint Estienne de Tolose, en l'an 1652.'³⁷³ The original document has never been seen since. The fate of this manuscript is very like that of *The Fight at Finnesburg*, a fragment of an Old English poem published by George Hickes in 1705 from a leaf of a manuscript he had found in Lambeth Palace Library, which has never been seen again.³⁷⁴ *The Fight at Finnesburg* is mentioned in the Old English epic *Beowulf*, and one of the protagonists is called Hengest, the name, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, of the leader of the first Saxon war band to conquer territory in Roman Britain. Because of its relevance to a poorly documented, but important, area of history, the validity of *The Fight at Finnesburg* has been called in question.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ '[Marchus] cum suis subditis . . . suscepit ab ipso Nicheta ordinem Drugunthie'. *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 306.

³⁷² See n. 364 above.

³⁷³ G. Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne* (Paris, 1660), pp. 483–6.

³⁷⁴ G. Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705), I, pp. 192–3.

³⁷⁵ 'As it stands it is hard even to be certain that it is an authentic survival and not a brilliant pastiche', D. Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London,

The Saint-Félix document is equally important and equally controversial, for it claims to be a Cathar record of a Council held in Languedoc in 1167 at which *papa* Nicetas presided and at which bishops were appointed for the Cathar churches of France and Lombardy. If it is authentic it is a unique source. No other Cathar record has ever been found: all other surviving Cathar writings consist of theological treatises and religious and liturgical texts. Moreover, if the Saint-Félix document is authentic it proves that from at least the 1160s the Cathars had an episcopal organization and conceived of themselves as being members of an international Church. This, of course, is how later Catholic writers such as the author of the *De heresi* and Anselm of Alessandria represented Catharism. Some scholars are reluctant to accept this view, arguing that religious dissidents in the period c. 1150–1320, while they had in common an opposition to the established Catholic Church, were not united in other ways. Inquisition records show a great diversity of belief and practice among those accused of involvement with heresy but, so this argument runs, the Catholic authorities treated these dissidents as members of a counter-church (and may even have believed that they were), and this enabled them to justify the stern repressive measures which they took against the heretics. There is some truth in this view, in that many of the people examined by the Inquisition were not full members of the Cathar Church and did not know very much about its teachings. Nevertheless, the depositions made to the Inquisition by well instructed Cathars do confirm that Catharism was organized in several hierarchical churches, which differed from each other in their interpretation of some parts of the Christian faith while sharing a dualist cosmogony. The committed and fully instructed members of the Cathar churches were fewer in number than those who sympathised with Catharism or were loosely attached to the sect but who knew very little about it; but the same distinction exists among the adherents of almost any religious movement.

Antoine Dondaine made the classical defence of the Saint-Félix document sixty years ago against critics who claimed that it was a forgery.³⁷⁶ This failed to convince Yves Dossat, who pointed out that

1977), p. 6, cited in J.R.R. Tolkien, *Finn and Hengest. The Fragment and the Episode*, ed. A. Bliss (London, 1982), p. 1.

³⁷⁶ A. Dondaine, 'Les actes du concile albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 5, *Studi e Testi*, 125 (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 324–55.

all the material available to a modern scholar who seeks to verify the information in the document, also existed in Besse's day and would have enabled him to forge it.³⁷⁷ I have argued that Besse could not have forged this document because it is clear from his work that he did not understand the situation that it describes, which is, nevertheless, entirely consonant with modern knowledge of the Cathar religion, knowledge which has only become available as a result of research undertaken in the past sixty years.³⁷⁸ Besse thought that the document showed that the Cathars elected Niquinta as their antipope, and that he then consecrated bishops for them, and that this led Viscount Raymond Trencavel to take action against the heretics, whose supporters assassinated him in Carcassonne cathedral in 1167 as an act of revenge.³⁷⁹ There is no evidence that Catharism played any part in the viscount's murder, and there was certainly never a 'Pope of the Cathars'.³⁸⁰

Because the Saint-Félix document is so important and controversial, Monique Zerner convened a Conference at the University of Nice in 1999 to discuss it. This led to the setting up of several research projects, among which was the analysis of the document undertaken by members of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes: Jacques Dalarun, Annie Dufour, Anne Grandoux, Denis Muzerelle and Fabio Zinelli. In their report they observe: 'Aucun d'entre nous n'est spécialiste de l'hérésie méridionale.'³⁸¹ Thus for

³⁷⁷ Y. Dossat, 'Remarques sur un prétendu évêque cathare du Val d'Aran en 1167', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715), années 1955 et 1956* (Paris, 1957), pp. 339–47; Y. Dossat, 'A propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix: Les Milingues', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 3 (1968), pp. 201–14. Dossat argued that Besse could have known about *papa* Niquinta/Nicetas from the extract of the *De heresi* published by Nicholas Vignier (see p. 64 above), 'Un prétendu évêque', pp. 341–2. Monique Zerner has now shown conclusively that Besse had not read Vignier's book: M. Zerner, ed., *L'histoire du Catharisme en discussion. Le Concile de Saint-Félix (1167)*, Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice, 3 (Nice, 2001), pp. 223–5.

³⁷⁸ B. Hamilton, 'The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', *AFP*, 48 (1978), pp. 23–53.

³⁷⁹ Besse, *Narbonne*, pp. 324–5.

³⁸⁰ A. Borst, *Die Katharer*, Schriften der MGH, 12 (Stuttgart, 1955), p. 210, n. 38, lists the sources relating to a 'pope of the heretics', none of which, as Borst observes, were written by Cathars, or by Cathar converts to Catholicism, who would have been well informed about the organization of the movement, but are all the work of Catholic polemicists and reflect their anxieties.

³⁸¹ J. Dalarun, A. Dufour, A. Grandoux, D. Muzerelle, F. Zinelli, 'La charte de Niquinta, analyse formelle', in Zerner, *Catharisme en discussion*, pp. 135–201 (citation at p. 137).

the first time this source has been scientifically examined by experts who are not engaged in the study of Catharism. They were completely satisfied that: '1. La *Charte de Niquinta* ne peut pas être une forgerie moderne. 2. Caseneuve et Besse offrent toutes garanties d'une transmission respectueuse du document médiéval.'³⁸² The report on the construction, vocabulary and syntax of the document and the abbreviations used in it concludes: 'L'impression finale que l'on retire de ces observations est celle d'un document homogène, contemporain des événements relatés et dû à un même rédacteur.'³⁸³ Some points of detail in the document remain controversial, but I am satisfied that this impartial examination has vindicated its authenticity. Not all the participants in the research project share this view: Monique Zerner in particular remains sceptical.³⁸⁴

As the colophon of the Saint-Félix document shows, the text is a vidimation. I have argued elsewhere that it was issued in 1223.³⁸⁵ When examining this source it must be borne in mind that some mistakes in transcription are likely to have occurred, because it is the printed version of a transcription of a vidimation of the original text. There seem to have been very few mistakes of substance made in the transcripts, though.³⁸⁶

The document begins:

In the year 1167 of the Incarnation of the Lord, in the month of May. At that time the Church of Toulouse brought *Papa* Niquinta to the castle of Saint-Félix, and a great number of men and women belonging to the church of Toulouse and of the other churches of the region gathered there to receive the *consolamentum* which the Lord *Papa* Niquinta began to administer.³⁸⁷

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³⁸⁴ M. Zerner, 'La charte de Niquinta, l'hérésie et l'érudition des années 1650–1660', *ibid.*, pp. 203–49.

³⁸⁵ The date given in the text is MCCXXXII, but since the copy was made at the request of Peter Isarn, Cathar Bishop of Carcassonne, and as he was burnt at the stake in 1226, this date must have been wrongly transcribed, either by Besse, or by his printer. I have argued that the date originally read MCCXXIII, Hamilton, 'Cathar Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', pp. 26–8.

³⁸⁶ Monique Zerner has discovered two other copies of this text made by Besse among the Baluze manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 'La charte de Niquinta' in *Catharisme en discussion*, pp. 203–43, with photographs of the documents between pp. 248–9.

³⁸⁷ 'Anno MCLXVII Incarnationis Dominice, in mense Madii, in diebus illis Ecclesia Tolosana adduxit Papa Niquinta in Castro Sancti Felicij et magna multitudo hominum et mulierum Ecclesiae Tolosanae, aliarumque Ecclesiarum vicine

The document goes on to say that they were joined by Robert d'Espernone, Bishop of the church of France, Sicard Cellarier, Bishop of the church of Albi and Mark of Lombardy, each with his council (*cum consilio suo*); and also by the councils of the church of Carcassonne and of the *Ecclesia Aranensis*.³⁸⁸ The churches of Toulouse, Carcassonne and *Aranensis* requested that they might have bishops of their own, and when this was agreed, chose Bernard Raymond, Gerald Mercier and Raymond de Casalis respectively. *Papa* Niquinta then consoled and consecrated Robert d'Espernone as Bishop of France, Sicard Cellarier as Bishop of Albi, Mark as Bishop of Lombardy, Bernard Raymond as Bishop of Toulouse, Gerald Mercier as Bishop of Carcassonne, and Raymond de Casalis as Bishop of *Aranensis*.

The document next gives a résumé of the address given by Niquinta to the Church of Toulouse:

You have asked me to tell you whether the customs of the primitive churches were heavy or light, and I say to you that the Seven Churches of Asia were divided from each other by boundaries and none of them did anything to infringe the rights of another of them. And the Churches of Rome, Dragometia, Melenguia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia have agreed boundaries, and none of them does anything to infringe the rights of any other of them. And so they are at peace with each other. Do you likewise.³⁸⁹

The church of Toulouse took his advice, and the document concludes with an account of a boundary commission set up by the

congregaverunt se ibi, ut acciperent consolamentum quod *Papa* Niquinta coepit consolare.⁷

³⁸⁸ Although critics of the document have objected that there is no corroborative evidence for the existence of Cathar councils, and that this is an anachronistic term, familiar to Besse from the practice of Calvinist churches in his own day and therefore a further indication that he forged the text, Denis Muzerelle has commented in his technical report on the source: 'Mais rien n'indique qu'il faille ici voir une allusion à une entité institutionnelle stable et bien définie. Le témoignage des textes contemporains, tant latins que romans, montre qu'il est tout à fait possible d'entendre ce terme au sens d'un groupe informel de personnes accompagnant une personnalité tant soit peu importante et l'assistant dans la prise de décisions: son "entourage" dans la langue d'aujourd'hui.' *Catharisme en discussion*, p. 174.

³⁸⁹ 'Vos dixistis mihi, ut ego dicam vobis, consuetudines primitivarum ecclesiarum sint leves aut graves, et ego dicam vobis: Septem Ecclesiae Asiae fuerunt divisae et terminatae inter illas, et nulla illarum faciebat ad aliam aliquam rem ad suam contradictionem. Et Ecclesias Romanae, et Dragometiae et Melenguiae, et Bulgariae et Dalmatiae sunt divisa et terminata et una ad altera non facit aliquam rem ad suam contradicionem et ita pacem habent inter se. Similiter et vos facite.'

Cathar churches of Toulouse and Carcassonne to determine the limits of their dioceses.³⁹⁰

It would be straining coincidence too far to suppose that *papa* Nicetas and *papa* Niquinta were different Bogomil prelates with almost identical names who happened to be visiting Western Europe at the same time.³⁹¹ The information in the Saint-Félix document is not incompatible with the accounts of Nicetas's visit given by the *De heresi* and by Anselm, even though neither of them reports that he went to Languedoc, for both those sources are interested only in the consequences of Nicetas's mission for the Cathars of Lombardy.³⁹² The Saint-Félix document suggests that Nicetas was seeking to win over to the Drugunthian *ordo* all the Cathar churches of Western Europe which derived from missions sent by the Latin Church of Constantinople of which he was head. When presented with this challenge, Mark of Lombardy and his followers would naturally have looked for guidance to the Church of France from which they had received their faith, and any decision which the Church of France took would also affect the Church which it had founded in Languedoc. It would thus have been quite logical to convene a Cathar council to debate this important issue of changing the *ordo*.

There were a number of places in Languedoc called Saint-Félix,³⁹³ but Besse identified the one where the council was held with Saint-Félix-de-Caraman in the Lauragais, and this seems plausible. Certainly it later became known as a stronghold of Catharism, for during the Albigensian Crusade it was said that 'few men die at Lanta, at Caraman, or at Verfeil without being hereticated [i.e. receiving the *consolamentum*].'³⁹⁴

The purpose of the Council was to persuade all the Cathar churches of northern and southern France and of northern Italy to accept the *ordo* of Drugunthia as the true source of their faith. All the initiated Cathars of both sexes who attended the Council were reconsoled by

³⁹⁰ Besse's text is reprinted in Hamilton, 'Cathar Council', pp. 52–3.

³⁹¹ As Jacques Dalarun has pointed out, the form Niquinta, written by a not very well-educated scribe, 's'est fait l'écho phonétique de la forme courante [de Nicétas]', in Zerner, *Catharisme en discussion*, p. 154.

³⁹² R.I. Moore, 'Nicétas, émissaire de Dragovitch, a-t-il traversé les Alpes?' *Annales du Midi* 85 (1973), pp. 85–90.

³⁹³ C. Devic and J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. A. Molinier, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1915), VIII, *Index géographique*, cols. 2289–90.

³⁹⁴ Cited by E. Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la Croisade 1209–1229* (Paris, 1973), p. 91.

Nicetas, as were their bishops. The only men whom the document records as being bishops before the Council were Robert d'Espernone, of France and Sicard Cellarier of Albi and they were both reconsecrated. This is the only source which names the Bishop of the north French Cathars, who figures prominently but anonymously in Anselm's narrative. Robert presumably came from Epernon near Rambouillet in the county of Blois. Mark of Lombardy was said to have been consecrated by Nicetas, which confirms Anselm's account that before Nicetas came to the West he had only been a deacon.³⁹⁵ Three additional bishoprics were set up in Languedoc by the Council: Bernard Raymond was made Bishop of Toulouse, Gerard Mercier Bishop of Carcassonne and Raymond de Casalis Bishop of *Aranensis*. The Cathar bishoprics of Albi, Toulouse and Carcassonne are well attested in later records,³⁹⁶ but as Dossat pointed out, *Aranensis* would refer to the Val d'Aran and there is no other evidence that that was a Cathar bishopric.³⁹⁷ It is nevertheless possible that there was an ephemeral Cathar bishopric there in the years following 1167. It is also possible that the word has been wrongly transcribed and should read *Agenensis*, for there was certainly a Cathar bishopric at Agen in the thirteenth century.³⁹⁸

Two of the southern French bishops named in the Saint-Félix document are known from other sources. In 1178, when a legatine commission came to Toulouse to investigate heresy, Bernard Raymond and his companion, Raymond of Bauniac, were summoned to appear before it as leaders of the Cathar community.³⁹⁹ On that occasion they appeared under safe-conduct and no action was taken against them, but in 1181 the new cardinal-legate in Languedoc, Henry de Marsy, besieged the castle of Lavaur where the Cathar leaders were living and arrested Bernard Raymond and Raymond of Bauniac. Both of them recanted their heresy, were reconciled to the Catholic

³⁹⁵ *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 309.

³⁹⁶ Duvernoy, *L'histoire des Cathares*, pp. 229–36.

³⁹⁷ Dossat, 'Un prétendu évêque du Val d'Aran', pp. 339–47.

³⁹⁸ This possibility was raised by C. Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1966), pp. 14–15, n. 7. The Agen hypothesis was accepted by F. Sanjek, 'Le rassemblement hérétique de Saint-Félix de Caraman (1167) et les églises cathares au XIII^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 67 (1972), pp. 786–7. Denis Muzerelle and his colleagues, however, do not consider that this emendation is plausible, Zerner, *Catharisme en discussion*, pp. 194–5.

³⁹⁹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, RS 51 (II), pp. 150–55. J. Dalarun in Zerner, *Catharisme en discussion*, pp. 155–8, 200.

Church, and were appointed canons in two churches in Toulouse.⁴⁰⁰ Sicard Cellarier was said by the chronicler William of Puylaurens to have been an heresiarch living at Lombers near Albi in the reign of William Peyre, Catholic Bishop of Albi (1185–1227).⁴⁰¹ Durand of Huesca, in the treatise against the Cathars which he wrote in 1222–3, lists Sicard Cellarier first among the heresiarchs of Languedoc, which supports the evidence of the Saint-Félix document that before the Council he had been the only bishop in Languedoc.⁴⁰²

Nicetas's sermon about church organization seems to have been prompted by a practical problem: how the jurisdictions of the new Cathar bishoprics were to be defined and disputes between them to be avoided. Nicetas appealed first to the Seven Churches of Asia. This may have been a reference to the seven churches named in the Apocalypse to which St. John was directed to write,⁴⁰³ or it may have referred to the seven Paulician churches which had existed in Asia Minor in the early ninth century, all of which had received the names of churches founded by St. Paul, and which the dualists of Drugunthia, whom Nicetas represented, might have supposed really dated from the apostolic age.⁴⁰⁴

The list of Bogomil churches which Nicetas gave begins with the *Ecclesia Romanae*. This must be a faulty transcription, perhaps made by Besse, who failed to understand its significance. It should be the *Ecclesia Romana*, the Church of New Rome, Constantinople, of which Nicetas was himself the Bishop.⁴⁰⁵ The *Ecclesia Dragometiae* is what Western sources more often call the Church of Drugunthia, which was the source of Nicetas's *ordo*. Dragometia is a closer approximation to the true name, Dragovitia, than that found in any other western source, as might be expected if the Cathars at Saint-Félix had heard the name spoken by the Byzantine Nicetas. The *Ecclesia Melinguae* is not otherwise known. The Milingui were a Slav tribe who lived in Mount Taygetus in the Peloponnese. Although Dossat called

⁴⁰⁰ William of Puylaurens, *Cronica*, ch. 2, pp. 28–30.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 4, p. 34.

⁴⁰² *Une Somme anti-cathare: Le "Liber contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. Thouzellier (Louvain, 1964), p. 76.

⁴⁰³ Rev. 1:4–3:22.

⁴⁰⁴ The seven Paulician churches were Corinth, Macedonia, Achaia, Philippi, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Colossae, Peter of Sicily, ch. 163, *T & M* 4, p. 60; Hamilton, 'Seven Churches of Asia', pp. 284–90.

⁴⁰⁵ Hamilton, 'Cathar Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', p. 37.

this reference to their church 'l'hérésie impossible', in fact the contrary is true.⁴⁰⁶ For the Milingui remained Slav-speaking and virtually self-governing until the thirteenth century,⁴⁰⁷ while it is known that there were Bogomils in Boeotia and Attica in the mid-twelfth century,⁴⁰⁸ so that Bogomil preachers might easily have reached this Slav enclave and have been sympathetically received there.

The *Ecclesia Bulgariae* mentioned by Nicetas was the Church of *pop* Bogomil and the source of the mitigated dualist *ordo*, while the *Ecclesia Dalmatiae* was what western writers called the Church of Sclavonia (or later of Bosnia). Dalmatia was the Byzantine name for this region, which was under Byzantine rule at the time of Nicetas's visit to the West,⁴⁰⁹ and this is further evidence of the authenticity of the Saint-Félix document.

It is not possible to determine whether Nicetas's claim that the Bogomil churches had defined boundaries is true, but it is clear from the Inquisition records that the Cathar dioceses in Languedoc observed territorial boundaries, and this corroborates the account in the Saint-Félix document.⁴¹⁰ A similar system was adopted by the Cathars of Tuscany,⁴¹¹ but it could not be implemented in Lombardy and the Marches because of the factionalism which developed among Cathars there.⁴¹²

It remains to consider the date of Nicetas's visit to the West. It must have occurred before 1177, because in that year Count Raymond V of Toulouse complained in a letter to the Chapter-General of Cîteaux that the Cathars in Languedoc were preaching the existence of two creative principles. Absolute dualism was the theology of the

⁴⁰⁶ Dossat, 'Les Milingues', pp. 209–13.

⁴⁰⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ch. 50, ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R.H. Jenkins (Washington, 1967), pp. 232–5; *Crusaders as Conquerors. The Chronicle of the Morea*, trans. H.E. Lurier (New York and London, 1964), pp. 159–60.

⁴⁰⁸ See above, pp. 47–8.

⁴⁰⁹ See above, p. 63.

⁴¹⁰ The Cathar synod of Pieuze in 1225 was held to deal with the problems of episcopal jurisdiction resulting from the disruption caused by the Albigensian Crusade. A new diocese in the Razès was founded then, E. Griffe, *Le Languedoc Cathare au temps de la Croisade*, pp. 216–19.

⁴¹¹ See the description of the boundary of the Cathar diocese of Florence in I. von Döllinger, ed., *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1890), II, p. 324, no. XXI.

⁴¹² See the map showing the overlapping jurisdictions of the north Italian Cathar bishops, Duvernoy, *L'histoire des Cathares*, p. 187.

ordo of Drugunthia, and Count Raymond's appeal was the first occasion on which this teaching was associated with the Cathars in a Western Catholic source.⁴¹³ The Saint-Félix document begins with the date: *Anno MCLXVII. Incarnacionis Dominice*. Denis Muzerelle has observed that this dating formula was in standard use in Languedoc in the later twelfth century⁴¹⁴ and although it might be objected that Cathars, who did not believe in the Incarnation, would have found this wording offensive, it may equally be true that they were prepared to accept it as a customary legal form, just as, until recently, few British unbelievers thought it necessary to contest the use of A.D. forms in official dating. It is nevertheless important to determine whether the date 1167 has been correctly transcribed. The only other piece of dating evidence which has a bearing on these events is the statement by Anselm of Alessandria that Mark and his companions were consoled by the Bishop of France in c. 1174;⁴¹⁵ but this is only an approximate date and cannot be accepted literally because it does not leave enough space for Mark's evangelising activities, the mission of Nicetas, and the preaching of absolute dualism in southern France to have happened before 1177. If, as suggested above, Mark's conversion to Catharism took place in the early 1160s, then a date of 1167 for Nicetas's mission would be congruent with the rest of the evidence.⁴¹⁶ It might be objected that at the Synod of Lombers in 1165 the Cathars of the Albigeois had been represented by a leader called Oliver, and apparently did not have a bishop.⁴¹⁷ This would mean that the Cathar see of Albi had been created and Sicard Cellarier appointed to it between 1165 and the Council of Saint-Félix two years later. It is possible that that is what happened, but it is also possible that Oliver had been a bishop and Sicard Cellarier's predecessor, because Catholic writers were sometimes reluctant to give the title of bishop to Cathars. Bernard Raymond, Cathar Bishop of Toulouse, for example, was referred to as an heresiarch in the acts of the legatine synod of 1178, and as an heretical leader by William of Puylaurens when describing his arrest in

⁴¹³ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 73, 2 vols. (London, 1879–80), I, p. 270.

⁴¹⁴ D. Muzerelle in Zerner, *Catharisme en discussion*, pp. 169–70.

⁴¹⁵ See above, p. 75.

⁴¹⁶ See above, pp. 75–7.

⁴¹⁷ See above, p. 71.

1181.⁴¹⁸ After possible objections have been considered, it would appear that the date of 1167 given in the Saint-Félix document is correct.⁴¹⁹

Nicetas returned to Constantinople after the Council having achieved remarkable success in persuading the Cathar churches of northern and southern France and of northern and central Italy to renounce the Bulgarian *ordo* and adopt that of Drugunthia, together with its absolute dualist theology. He had also set up three new Cathar dioceses in Languedoc and persuaded the Cathars to adopt a system of territorial dioceses to avoid internal disputes. Nevertheless, he had created a very unusual situation, in that all the Cathars throughout France and northern and central Italy had been consoled by him, or by people whose initiation derived from him. The difficulties which that would lead to only became apparent after his death.

Anselm and the *De heresi* give different, but complementary, accounts of what happened next. Anselm reports: 'A short time later Mark was given to understand that *papa* Nicetas had come to a bad end, and so he wanted to go overseas to receive episcopal consecration from the Bishop of Bulgaria.'⁴²⁰ Rainier Sacconi, who had been a Cathar minister, explained how seriously the Cathars regarded mortal sins committed by their clergy:

For this reason all Cathars are beset by great doubt and by spiritual danger . . . For if one of their ministers, and specially a bishop, should secretly have committed a mortal sin . . . all those whom he has consoled have been deceived and will perish if they die in that condition. In order to avoid this danger all the churches of the Cathars, with one or two exceptions, [allow their adherents] to receive a second and third *consolamentum*, that is, a laying-on of hands, which is their form of baptism.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁸ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, RS 51 (II), p. 151. 'E quibus [hereticis] duo qui erant precipui . . .', William of Puylaurens, *Cronica*, ch. 2, p. 28.

⁴¹⁹ When reviewing my article, 'The Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', Janet Nelson argued that the 1167 date was correct, although I had cast doubt on it. I now accept that she was right. J.L. Nelson, 'Religion in *histoire totale*: some recent work on medieval heresy and popular religion', *Religion*, 10 (1980), pp. 69–70.

⁴²⁰ 'Post aliquantulum temporis, Marchus intellexit quod papas Nicheta male finierat vitam suam, et ideo voluit ire ultra mare ut reciperet ordinem episcopalem de episcopo de Bulgaria', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 309.

⁴²¹ 'Proinde omnes Cathari laborant in maximo dubio et periculo anime. Verbi gratia si prelatos eorum, et maxime episcopus, occulte commiserit aliquod mortale peccatum . . . omnes illi quibus ipse manum suam imposuit sunt decepti et pereunt, si in eo statu decedunt. Et causa huius periculi evitandi omnes ecclesie Catharorum,

The Cathars and Bogomils were confronting the same problem which had bothered many Catholics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: whether the unworthiness of the minister adversely affected the validity of the sacrament. The Cathar response was rigorist. If an initiated Cathar committed a mortal sin all the consolings which he had administered were invalidated. The reason for this is never explained, but it would seem to have been this: the *consolamentum* restored believers to full communion with God and delivered them from the power of evil, and they were then known as the perfect. But if a perfect man or woman committed mortal sin this showed that the consoling which he or she had received had not been effective and that therefore he or she had no power to console others.

The reasons which led the Lombard Cathars to desire reconsoiling when they heard that Nicetas had died in mortal sin were different from those which had led them to accept reconsoiling at his hands. There is no suggestion in the *De heresi* or in the Saint-Félix document that Nicetas suggested that the Bulgarian consolings which they had previously received were defective because of the immorality of the ministers by whom they had been administered. Indeed, had that been the motivation for their change of allegiance, the Cathars of Lombardy would not have felt able to return to the Bulgarian *ordo*, because they would have perceived it too to have been an ineffective source of grace. Nicetas's message had been that the Bulgarian *ordo* was not a valid form of the Christian faith and therefore the Cathars needed to be initiated into the true Church, represented by the *ordo* of Drugunthia. This complicated their attempt to return to the Bulgarian *ordo*. It was not enough for them to receive the *consolamentum* again from some member of that *ordo*, it was necessary for their Church to be reconciled to that *ordo* and to acknowledge that it was a valid part of the true Church of Christ. That involved submission to the Bishop of Bulgaria, the senior representative of that *ordo*, whom the Synodikon of Tsar Boril called 'the *dedec* of Sredec [Sofia]'.⁴²² These are the guiding principles implicit in the actions which the Lombard Cathars took during this crisis of their faith.

una excepta solummodo vel duabus, receperunt secundo, et aliquo tercio consolamentum, id est manus impositionem, quod est baptismum eorum.' Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 49.

⁴²² See above, pp. 59–60.

In terms of Cathar belief, a belief common to the members of both the *ordo* of Bulgaria and of that of Drugunthia, the situation which had arisen at Nicetas's death was a very serious one, if the allegation proved to be true. For if Nicetas had died in a state of sin, all the *consolamenta* which he had conferred would be invalid. Mark therefore wished to be reconsoled in the *ordo* of Bulgaria, which had not been contaminated by sin, but first he needed to effect the reconciliation of his Church to that *ordo*, and that necessitated his visiting the Bishop of Bulgaria.

Anselm's informants gave him a detailed account of what happened next. It is unlikely that Anselm or his informants invented this part of the story, since it appears illogical and adds nothing to the main narrative, but if this information is genuine it may provide some indication of the date of Nicetas's death. Anselm reports how, on his way to Bulgaria, Mark first went to Calabria, where he met a Cathar deacon named Hilary 'who told him that it was quite impossible for him to go overseas'.⁴²³ There were Cathars in South Italy in the late twelfth century, but no detailed study has been made of them and it is not certain when they first arrived there. It is possible that the North French bishop, who lived for a time at Naples and instructed Bishop Mark, organized a Cathar community in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, but the earliest secure evidence for the presence of Cathars in Calabria is found in the commentary which Abbot Joachim of Fiore wrote on the Apocalypse of St. John. This was commissioned by Pope Lucius III whom Joachim met at Veroli in 1184.⁴²⁴ He saw the Cathars prefigured in St. John's vision of the plague of locusts which ascended from the abyss when the fifth trumpet sounded.⁴²⁵ 'These are those heretics who are called Patarenes, at least by some people, they are known by different names to others.'⁴²⁶ He reports that they taught that all bodies had been created by the Devil, and that consequently Christ did not take human flesh, which proved that they were the advance guard of Antichrist, 'because

⁴²³ 'qui dixit ei quod nullo modo posset ire ultra mare', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 309.

⁴²⁴ M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism*, 2 ed. (Notre Dame and London, 1993), p. 6.

⁴²⁵ Rev. 9:1-4.

⁴²⁶ 'Hi sunt illi heretici qui vulgo dicuntur Pathareni; licet apud alios; alios diversis vocabulis nominentur.'

St. John says that whoever denies that Christ has come [among us] in the flesh is a deceiver and an antichrist'.⁴²⁷

Calabria does not lie on the most direct route from Milan to Bulgaria and Mark's itinerary may have been dictated by a wish to inform the south Italian Cathars about the crisis which had arisen. It is even possible that he was responsible for the oversight of this group of Cathars who did not have a bishop of their own. The deacon Hilary's statement that it was impossible to cross the Adriatic at this time deserves consideration. The reasons on which this advice was based must have been cogent because, despite the urgency of the crisis, which involved the eternal salvation of the entire Cathar community in Lombardy, Mark did not challenge Hilary's report, but returned to Milan. There were two occasions in this period when a journey from South Italy to the Byzantine Empire might have been deemed impossible. The first was in the aftermath of the Latin massacre at Constantinople in April 1182 which accompanied Andronicus I Comnenus's seizure of power. Survivors who escaped on Western ships anchored in the Golden Horn gave horrific accounts of what had occurred, as is known from the graphic description given by William of Tyre, based on the experiences of those who sought refuge in the Crusader States.⁴²⁸ No doubt similar stories were circulated by survivors who reached the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and this may well have led Latin Christians to think that it was unsafe to visit Byzantine territory. The other occasion when it would have been impossible to reach Byzantium from the ports of southern Italy would have been in 1185 when William II declared war on the Empire and began by besieging Dyrrachium in June.⁴²⁹ If either of these suggestions is correct, a matter about which there can be no certainty, this would help to date the death of *papa* Nicetas. Although it might be objected that Anselm states that Nicetas died 'a short while after' his mission to the West and that fifteen years or more will not fit that description, it should be remembered that Anselm was working on the assumption that Mark of Lombardy was first converted to the Bulgarian *ordo* in 1174.⁴³⁰ Since Nicetas's com-

⁴²⁷ A paraphrase of II John 7. Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527), f. 130v (reproduced at Frankfort am-Main, 1964).

⁴²⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XXII, 11–14, ed. Huygens, II, pp. 1020–5.

⁴²⁹ C.M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 162–75.

⁴³⁰ See above, p. 75.

ing to the West occurred some years later, the period between that visit and his death in 1182–5 would not have been very long.

Anselm reports that as Mark was returning to Lombardy he was arrested and imprisoned 'in terra que dicitur Argentea/in the land which is called Argentea', and that, falling ill, he sent a message to the Cathars of Lombardy asking them to choose a successor. The *terra Argentea* seems to refer to the fief of Haymo of Argentea, lord of Arienzo near Caserta in the County of Capua.⁴³¹ It is not known why Mark was arrested, but it does not appear to have been on a suspicion of heresy, since he was later released. In response to his message the Cathars of Lombardy elected John the Jew, one of his first companions in the Cathar venture, who visited him in prison and was consecrated by him. Shortly after this Mark was set free, but died soon afterwards. Anselm continues: 'And all the Cathars of Lombardy, John the Jew and the rest of them, doubted whether *papa* Nicetas had come to a bad end, he from whom Bishop Mark, who had appointed the aforementioned John, had received his *ordo*'.⁴³² So peace was restored among the Cathars of Lombardy, who remained true to the Drugunthian *ordo*.

The *De heresi* rapidly passes over this phase in the history of the Lombard Cathar Church, reporting that Mark and his followers remained in the *ordo* of Drugunthia for some time.⁴³³ It then relates that after Mark's death, and while John the Jew was bishop, 'a certain man called Petracious came from overseas with his companions and gave news of a certain Symon, Bishop of Drugunthia, from whom the *ordo* which had been received from Nicetas originated. And this Petracious said that Symon had been discovered with a certain woman in a locked room and that he had done other things which were not right'.⁴³⁴ It is not said which Byzantine dualist community Petracious represented. His name is Italian, and it is possible

⁴³¹ I owe this suggestion to Professor Graham Loud of the University of Leeds.

⁴³² 'Et omnes Cathari de Lombardia, tam Iohannes Iudeus quam alii, dubitaverunt quia papas Nicheta fecerat malum finem, a quo descenderat episcopus Marchus, qui predictum Iohannem confirmaverat.' *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 309.

⁴³³ 'Et in illo ordine Drugonthie aliquibus temporibus [Marcus] cum suis omnibus complicitibus commoratus est'. *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 306.

⁴³⁴ '... venit quidam de ultramarinis partibus, Petracious nomine, cum sociis suis, et quedam retulit nova de quodam Symone episcopo Drugonthie, a quo origo suscepti ordinis a Nicheta processerat, Et dicebat ipse Petracious, quod ille Symon fuit inventus in conclavi cum quadam, et quia alia contra rationem fecerat', *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 306.

that his delegation came from the Church of the Latins in Constantinople, since that is the only dualist church in the Byzantine world which is known to have had a substantial number of Western adherents. The fate of the Cathars of Constantinople during the Latin massacre of 1182 is not known, though it is possible that the initiated members were sheltered by their Greek fellow-believers. Certainly the Church of the Latins either survived the massacre or was re-established, because it is attested in the mid-thirteenth century.⁴³⁵ It is known that the Church of the Greeks in Constantinople had returned to the mitigated dualism of the *ordo* of Bulgaria by the second quarter of the thirteenth century because the Orthodox Patriarch Germanus II, in a pastoral letter directed against them, describes how they call the Devil 'the Son of God and the brother of Christ',⁴³⁶ whereas the absolute dualists of the Drugunthian *ordo* held that Lucifer was the son of the Evil God.⁴³⁷ It is possible that this change occurred soon after *papa* Nicetas's death, when a new bishop was elected, and that it was accepted by the Latins of Constantinople also. If that was so, then the delegation led by Petrarius would have been sent to Lombardy to persuade the Cathars there to make the same change. Petrarius's report about Bishop Symeon of Drugunthia inevitably revived the doubts about the validity of *papa* Nicetas's consolings which had largely subsided after Mark's death. The allegations about Symeon had even more serious implications than the earlier allegations made about Nicetas, for if Bishop Symeon had committed mortal sin then the consolings of the entire Drugunthian *ordo* were invalid. The author of the *De heresi* reports that Petrarius's news divided the Lombard Church. Those who believed it elected a new bishop, Peter of Florence, while the rest remained faithful to John the Jew.⁴³⁸

The Cathars of northern France and Languedoc, who had adhered to the *ordo* of Drugunthia at the Council of Saint-Félix, must have been informed about the alleged sinful behaviour of Bishop Symeon; possibly Petrarius and his companions went on to France from Lombardy with the news. The Cathars of Languedoc remained faithful to the *ordo* of Drugunthia,⁴³⁹ but the north French Cathars returned

⁴³⁵ Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

⁴³⁶ Germanus, *Epistola* in Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 117.

⁴³⁷ '[Cathari] qui habent ordinem suum de Drugonthia... dicunt quod Lucifer est filius dei tenebrarum', *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 309.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁴³⁹ This is evident from their own writings. See the citations from the southern

to the *ordo* of Bulgaria. This is known, because the Cathars of Lombardy asked 'a certain bishop beyond the mountains' (*quemdam episcopum ultra montes*) to arbitrate between Peter of Florence and John the Jew. He advised them that the two candidates should cast lots about which of them should be bishop;⁴⁴⁰ that all the Lombard Cathars should agree to abide by the result; and that the successful candidate should go to Bulgaria, be reconsoled, and consecrated as a bishop and, on his return, should reconsole all the Cathars of north Italy in the Bulgarian *ordo*.⁴⁴¹ The bishop did not offer to perform these rites himself, which suggests that he was not empowered to do so, and that only the Bishop of Bulgaria, head of the mother-church of that *ordo*, could reconcile those who had renounced it for another *ordo*.⁴⁴²

The Bishop of France's advice was not followed because Peter of Florence refused to submit to judgment by lot. This impasse led to the convening of a Cathar synod at Mosio, between Mantua and Cremona, at which all contenders for the office of bishop stood aside and Garattus was elected. But before he could set out for Bulgaria to restore the Lombard Cathars to that *ordo*, he was found with a woman in compromising circumstances and was disqualified. This led to the abandonment by the Cathars of any further attempt to restore unity. Those of Desenzano remained true to the teaching of Nicetas: 'they chose a bishop called John the Fair and sent him across the seas to Drugunthia where he was consecrated bishop.'⁴⁴³ He did not need to be reconsoled because he had already been consoled in the Drugunthian *ordo*. The Cathars of Mantua elected Caloiohannes as their bishop, and those of Vicenza elected a bishop called Nicholas: both these men went to the mitigated dualist Church of

French Cathar treatise in the work written by Durand of Huesca in 1222–3, ed. C. Thouzellier, *Une somme anti-cathare, Le "Liber contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca* (Louvain, 1964). See below, p. 96.

⁴⁴⁰ Doubtless following the apostolic precedent of Acts 1:21–6.

⁴⁴¹ *De heresi*, AFP 19, pp. 306–7.

⁴⁴² The bishop 'beyond the mountains' must have been the Bishop of the north French Cathars because the Cathar bishops of Languedoc remained in the *ordo* of Drugunthia; but by the time Rainier Sacconi was writing, in c. 1250, the north French Cathars, then living in exile in Lombardy, had aligned themselves with the Cathars of Bagnolo. The latter were a Lombard group of mitigated dualists who had links with the Cathar Church of Slavonia/Bosnia, Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 59.

⁴⁴³ 'Elegerunt quendam sibi episcopum, nomine Johannem Bellum, et eum miserunt ultra mare in Drugunthiam et ibi ordinaretur episcopus'. *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 308.

Slavonia (Dalmatia) and were consecrated there.⁴⁴⁴ John the Jew was finally re-elected Bishop by the Cathars of Concorezzo near Milan and on that occasion he did go to Bulgaria and was consecrated bishop in that *ordo*.⁴⁴⁵ In Tuscany Cathar bishoprics were set up at Florence and Spoleto, but it is not known where their bishops were consecrated.⁴⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that none of the Italian Cathars sought the help of the Church of Constantinople in solving their problems. Only those who wished to return to the Bulgarian *ordo* would have considered doing so, but the fact that they did not, implies that they were required to seek reconciliation from the Bishop of Bulgaria.⁴⁴⁷

Writing almost a century after these events, Anselm gives fewer details, but agrees with the *De heresi* about the creation of four Cathar churches in Lombardy and of the church of Florence in Tuscany, though he knows nothing about the church of Spoleto. He agrees with the *De heresi* also about who were the first bishops to rule the churches of Concorezzo, Mantua and Vicenza, and names the first Cathar bishop of Florence, which the *De heresi* does not do, but he is poorly informed about the early succession of bishops in the church of Desenzano.⁴⁴⁸

Cathar unity was never restored in the West. In the thirteenth century the Cathar churches of Languedoc and the Lombard church of Desenzano, often called the church of the Albanenses after one of its early bishops, remained faithful to the absolute dualist teaching of the *ordo* of Drugunthia. The church of Concorezzo professed the mitigated dualism of the Bulgarian *ordo*. By the time Rainier Sacconi wrote his *Summa* in c. 1250, the Cathars of Mantua (the

⁴⁴⁴ *Idem*, Anselm reports that Caloiohannes was succeeded as bishop by Otto de Bagnolo 'et propter hoc dicti sunt Bagnolenses' ('and for that reason they are called Bagnolenses'), *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 310. See pp. 63–4 above.

⁴⁴⁵ *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 308.

⁴⁴⁶ 'Similiter et in Tussia duo episcopi ordinati sunt', *De heresi*, AFP 19, p. 308; 'Illi de Florentia elegerunt quemdam Petrum Florentinum, qui fuit episcopus ibidem et per totam Tusciam', *Tractatus*, AFP 20, p. 310; Sacconi lists the churches of central Italy: 'Ecclesia Florentina. Ecclesia de valle Spolitana'. *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

⁴⁴⁷ The Cathars of Vicenza and Mantua, whose bishops were consecrated in the Church of Slavonia, were seeking to gain independence from the previously unitary Lombard bishopric, an ambition which the divisions among the Lombard Cathars made possible.

⁴⁴⁸ *Tractatus*, AFP 20, pp. 309–10. See Dondaine's discussion of the hierarchy of Desenzano, *ibid.*, pp. 285–8.

Baiolenes) and the Church of Northern France had accepted mitigated dualism in the *ordo* of the Church of Slavonia, while the remaining three north Italian churches, those of Vicenza (sometimes called the Church of the March of Treviso), of Florence and of Spoleto broadly agreed with the Baiolenses but were coming to share the views of the Albanenses.⁴⁴⁹

Rainier reported that in c. 1250 there were six Cathar churches overseas: 'The Church of Slavonia. The Church of the Latins of Constantinople. The Church of the Greeks of that city. The Church of Philadelphia in Romania. The Church of Bulgaria. The Church of Druguithia. And they all trace their origin to the two last-named.'⁴⁵⁰ The church which appears on this list, but is absent from that of *papa* Nicetas, is that of Philadelphia in Romania, which seems to refer to the Bogomil church in the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea, to the existence of which the writings of the Patriarch Germanus II bear eloquent witness.⁴⁵¹

When Sacconi wrote, the two dualist churches of Constantinople seem to have been separately organized. The Latin Church, he reports, had fifty members: but he had no precise figure for the Greek Church, only a global figure of 500 for the initiates of all the Bogomil churches of whatever *ordo*, which is almost certainly based on guesswork.⁴⁵² A church membership of fifty in the Latin Church does not sound very large, but those were the fully initiated Cathars of Constantinople and probably represent a body of some 500 committed, but unconsoled, believers and a wider group of mildly interested hearers. Sacconi adds that the majority of the Cathar churches overseas (*fere omnes ecclesie Catharorum de ultra mare*) hold the same beliefs as those of southern France and of the Albanenses.⁴⁵³ The vague way in which this phrase is worded suggests that Sacconi was not very well informed about those churches. It is known that the Church of Bulgaria and those of Philadelphia and of the Greeks of Constantinople remained moderate dualist,⁴⁵⁴ and it is also known

⁴⁴⁹ Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, pp. 50–9.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Ecclesia Sclavonie. Ecclesia Latinorum de Constantinopolim. Ecclesia Grecorum ibidem. Ecclesia Philadelfie in Romania. Ecclesia Bulgarie. Ecclesia Duguuithie. Et omnes habuerunt originem a duabus ultimis.' *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁵¹ See above, p. 48, and B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 267–71.

⁴⁵² Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁵⁴ In the case of Bulgaria this is known from the Synodikon of Tsar Boril, see p. 50 above; in the cases of the Greek Church of Constantinople and the Church

that the Church of Drugunthia remained absolute dualist.⁴⁵⁵ It is not known whether the Latin Church of Constantinople had moved back once more to a belief in absolute dualism by the mid-thirteenth century.

The antagonism between the supporters of the *ordo* of Drugunthia and those of the *ordo* of Bulgaria remained undiminished among the Cathars in Western Europe. Salvo Burci in his *Liber Suprastella*, a work of anti-Cathar polemic written in 1235, begins by stating that he was writing: 'Against the Cathars who are called Albanenses and Concorezzenses, who disagree strongly with each other to the point of condemning one another to death; the Albanenses assert, against the Concorezzenses, that they are the Church of God, saying that the latter sprang from them and that they have seceded from us, and the Concorezzenses, indeed, make the same claim in reverse.'⁴⁵⁶

The Albanenses were the adherents of *papa* Nicetas and the *ordo* of Drugunthia; the Concorezzenses were the mitigated dualists of the Bulgarian *ordo*. All the founder members of the Lombard Cathar church had originally been Catholics;⁴⁵⁷ all had initially become members of the Bulgarian *ordo*, and subsequently all had changed to the Drugunthian *ordo*. In that sense the claims of both parties were true and they proved irreconcilable. Fifteen years later Rainier Sacconi reported: 'All the churches of the Cathars are willing to recognise each other, although they may have different and contrary views, except for the Albanenses and the Concorezzenses, who condemn each other . . .'⁴⁵⁸ The legacy of Nicetas of Constantinople's visit to the West had important and long-lasting consequences for the Cathars of Lombardy and Languedoc.

of Philadelphia in Romania it is known from the writings of the Patriarch Germanus II, B. and J. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 267–74.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Ecclesia Bulgarie. Ecclesia Duguuithie. Et omnes habuerunt originem a duabus ultimis', wrote Sacconi, when explaining the division between mitigated and absolute dualists, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 50.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Contra Catharos qui appellantur Albanenses et Concorricii, qui inter se valde discrepant, videlicet quia unus alterum ad mortem condempnat, dicentes Albanenses adversus Concorricos se esse ecclesiam Dei et dicentes illos fuisse ex ipsis, et a nobis secessi sunt, et e converso Concoritii vero dicunt illud idem.' Salvo Burci, *Liber Suprastella*, I, ed. C. Bruschi (Rome, 2003), p. 5.

⁴⁵⁷ With the possible exception of John the Jew.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Omnes ecclesie Catharorum recipiunt se ad invicem, licet habeant diversas et contrarias opiniones, preter Albanenses et Concorrenses, qui se dampnant ad invicem . . .' Sacconi, *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, p. 59.

4. *Conclusion*

From the 1140s, and possibly earlier, the Latin members of the dualist church of Constantinople sent missions to Western Europe. These evangelists called themselves Cathars and their faith was the mitigated dualism which derived from the Bogomil Church of Bulgaria. They met with considerable success because they spoke western languages and shared the same cultural background as the people they were seeking to convert. The first generation of Cathar missionaries were very zealous and within about twenty-five years had established congregations in northern France, Flanders, the Rhineland, Languedoc, Lombardy and Tuscany. By the 1160s they were still conscious of the links which bound them to each other and to the mother church of Constantinople and it was this which made possible the success of *papa* Nicetas's mission to the West in 1167. Having been converted to the absolute dualist faith which had evolved among the Bogomils of Drugunthia/Dragovitia near Philippopolis, he sought to convert the Cathars to this new form of belief, which involved their receiving a second spiritual baptism in the new *ordo*. He presided at a Council at Saint-Félix in Languedoc, where the Cathar leaders of northern and southern France and of Lombardy and Tuscany accepted this new faith and were consoled by him. He then returned to Constantinople, where he died in c. 1181.

Nicetas's pontificate spanned the period when Hugh Eteriano was living in Constantinople, during which time he wrote the *Contra Patarenos*, and the heretics whom Hugh denounced were the Latin members of Nicetas's church. Because Hugh says nothing about their cosmology, it is impossible to tell how far these Patarenes had come to share the absolute dualist faith of Nicetas and the Drugunthian *ordo*. The only accusation which Hugh levels against them which has any bearing on this matter is his assertion that they rejected the Old Testament.⁴⁵⁹ Among the Cathars of the West in the thirteenth century, one of the distinctions between absolute and mitigated dualists was that the absolute dualists accepted the Prophets and the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament but rejected the Pentateuch and all the historical books, while the mitigated dualists rejected the Old

⁴⁵⁹ See above, p. 17.

Testament in its entirety.⁴⁶⁰ In twelfth-century Constantinople the moderate dualists accepted a scriptural canon which differed from both of these. Euthymius Zigabenus wrote of Basil the Bogomil and his followers, who were clearly mitigated dualists: 'They reject all the books of Moses and the God who is described in them, together with the men who are well-pleasing to Him, [and] indeed all the books which follow, as being written in accordance with the plan of Satan . . . They accept and honour only seven [books], and highly respect them: that is, the Psalter, the sixteen Prophets, the Gospel according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and, as the seventh book, the Acts of the Apostles together with the Epistles, and the Apocalypse of St. John the Divine. For they say: "Wisdom hath builded her house, and she hath hewn out her seven pillars"'.⁴⁶¹ It is not known what canon of scripture the absolute dualists of the Drugunthian *ordo* accepted in the twelfth century, though it may not have differed from that described by Sacconi. However, all the Christian dualists in the twelfth century, whether mitigated or absolute, rejected the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament. Hugh's criticism about the Patarenes' refusal to accept the Old Testament as evidence of Christian belief would therefore have applied to either group, and the same is true of his other charges which all relate to beliefs and practices which all the sects of Cathars and Bogomils shared.

Although Hugh's tract tells us little about the beliefs of the Patarenes, it may have been of pastoral value to the Latin clergy of Constantinople and have helped them to argue with the heretics, but it seems to have had no wider consequences. There is no evidence that the Emperor Manuel made any attempt to stamp out heresy among the Latin population in his capital during the time that Hugh was living there. Hugh brought the work back with him to Western Europe when he returned there to join the curia of Lucius III in 1182.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ Sacconi reports that the absolute dualists (whom he calls Albanenses) believe: 'quod dyabolus fuit actor tocius veteris testamenti, exceptis hiis libris: Iob, Psalterio, Libris Salomonis, Sapientie, Ihesu filii Syrac, Ysaie, Ieremie, Ezechiel, Daniel et XII prophetarum . . .'; whereas the mitigated dualists of Concorezzo; 'reprobant totum vetus testamentum, putantes quod dyabolus fuit actor eius, exceptis illis tantummodo verbis que sunt inducta in novo testamento per Christum et apostolos', *Summa*, ed. Sanjek, pp. 51–2, 58.

⁴⁶¹ Prov. 9:1; Zigabenus, *Dogmatic Panoply*, XXVII, 1, PG 130, 1291–2.

⁴⁶² This seems a reasonable inference, because both surviving manuscripts of the text are in Western collections, see below, pp. 103–109.

If he had lived longer he might have succeeded in drawing the attention of the papal authorities to the fact that there were Patarenes in Constantinople as well as in the West, and that might have led the Western Church to link Catharism to the Byzantine world, but Hugh died a few months after being created a cardinal.⁴⁶³

The Cathar Church of the Latins in Constantinople was still in existence when Rainier Sacconi was writing his *Summa* in the 1250s.⁴⁶⁴ Even then the Papacy had not connected the city of Constantinople with Catharism, for at a time when Cathars were being persecuted in all parts of Western Europe no attempt was made to introduce the Inquisition in Constantinople, although Latin emperors ruled there from 1204–61.⁴⁶⁵ Cathar converts to Catholicism, of whom Sacconi was one, were, of course, aware of the existence of a Cathar church in Constantinople, and through them this information reached the Inquisition. Yet because the medieval papal Inquisition lacked any central bureaucracy to coordinate its activities such knowledge did not come to the attention of the pope and the Roman curia.⁴⁶⁶

Hugh Eteriano's treatise is important to our understanding of Cathar history, because it is contemporary evidence for the presence of Cathars among the Latin-rite inhabitants of Constantinople in the later years of Manuel Comnenus's reign. Hugh was a contemporary of *papa* Nicetas, and his treatise helps us to understand why very few Western writers made a connection between the Cathars and the Bogomils. It clearly did not occur to the Byzantine authorities in Constantinople in Manuel's reign that the Patarenes were members of the Bogomil community, which is why they asked Hugh to investigate them. Hugh did not make a connection between the Patarenes and the Bogomils either. Both he and his Byzantine patrons seem to have thought that the Patarenes had come from the West and had infiltrated the Latin-rite population of the capital. If Hugh, who was a trained theologian and an adviser to the Emperor Manuel on Western Church affairs, who spent many years in Constantinople

⁴⁶³ See below, p. 141.

⁴⁶⁴ See above, p. 97.

⁴⁶⁵ B. Hamilton, 'Dualist Heresy in the Latin Empire of Constantinople', in C. Hawkesworth, M. Heppell and H. Norris ed., *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans* (London, 2001), pp. 69–77.

⁴⁶⁶ J.B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society. Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca and London, 1997), pp. 191–212.

and ended his life as a cardinal, did not know about what Rainier Sacconi was to call the Church of the Latins of Constantinople, it is scarcely surprising that it remained the best kept secret of the Christian dualist movement throughout the twelfth century.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CONTRA PATARENOS*

Sarah Hamilton

S *Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Cod. 5.1.24*

Collection of miscellaneous theological texts, s. xiii, Italy?

This description is based on a microfilm printout, and the catalogue entry in José Francisco Sáez Guillén, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, 2 vols (Seville, 2002), i. 58–9: no. 26. The tentative location of the script is based on both the rotund appearance of the script and what is known of the manuscript's sixteenth-century provenance; Guillén does not locate the manuscript geographically.

Physical Description

ff. 88, foliation is modern; size: 234 × 172 mm (written block: 177 × 130 mm); parchment; written in 2 columns, 27 lines to a page. Pricking visible in outer margin.

Script

Textualis Gothica.

Decoration

f. 67^r Capital 'P' (9 lines long), in red ink with calligraphic decoration.

Contents

(1) ff. 1^r–67^r Innocent III *Mysteriorum evangelicae legis et sacramenti Eucharistiae libri sex*, *PL* 217: 763–915.

Liber de missarum misteriis ab Innocencio Tertio composito. Incipit. Tria sunt in quibus lex precipue divina consistit.

(2) ff. 67^r–75^v Hugo Eteriano *De abhominabili patherenorum secta*
Incipit: Postulaverunt me dudum memorandi quidam viri et spectabiles quorum ingenium

(3) ff. 75^v–78^v Ad venerabilem cardinalem Arduinum *De heresibus quas in latinos greci devoluunt* Ugo Eterianus

Incipit: Diligens prudencia tue inquisitionis reverende cardinalis arduine scire

(4) ff. 78^r–88^v De heresibus et prevaricationibus gregorum Leo Tuscus imperialium epistolatum interpres capitulum primum

Incipit: Grecorum intollerabilis redargutio vulcanum imittando qui altero

Provenance

It is first recorded in the catalogue of the Library of Don Hernando Colón: H. Colón, *Indice General Alfabetico o Abecedarium B y Suplemento*, 2 vols (1509–39): no. 9116. Nothing is known of its earlier provenance; a note added on f. 88 suggests it was purchased in Genoa in 1530: ‘Este libro costó 80 (?) dineros en Génova de mediado deziembre de 1530 y el ducado de oro vale 864 dineros’.

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Canon. Pat. Lat. 1

Theological anti-heretical collection of texts, s. xiii, Italy.

This description is based on the microfilm and a brief study of the manuscript. Both the physical make-up of the manuscript and the script suggest ff. 57^r–72^v (quires VII and VIII) were added to the manuscript at a later stage, and therefore the description has focussed on ff. 1^r–56^r.

Physical Description

ff. ii + 75 (modern (Bodleian Library) foliation gives 74 folios; f. 39b was omitted from the initial foliation but subsequently identified and distinguished from f. 39a); ff. 1–74 are marked in pencil in a nineteenth-century hand.

ff. (paper pastedown) i + ii paper; ff. 1–72 parchment, which is not always of good quality: some small holes; ff. 73–4 paper (+ paper pastedown).

Written in brown ink; red ink used for some initials and capitula.

ff. 1^r–16^v: 103 × 168 mm (written block: 67 × 120 mm)

ff. 17^r–56^r: 109 × 169 mm (written block: 65 × 121 mm)

Written in one column of 26 ruled lines. Width between two ruled lines is c. 4 mm. Height of minims 3–4 mm. The first line is written below the top ruled line.

ff. 1^r–56^r, written on alternative lines (i.e. 13 lines to a page); ff. 57^r–72^v written single spaced, on each line, 18 lines to a page.

Quiring: I⁸, II⁸, III⁸, IV¹⁰, V¹¹, VI¹², VII⁸, VIII⁸

Sheets are arranged hair side to meet hair side, flesh side to meet flesh side, with the hair side facing outermost.

Prickings are visible on all folios for both the vertical and horizontal rulings.

Prickings for horizontal rulings visible only on outer edge of leaf, c. 4–5 mm from the edge; prickings for vertical rulings visible c. 2–4 mm from bottom, and c. 3–6 mm from the top.

Ruling in hard point on hair side only. There is some variation in the ruling pattern of the manuscript:

ff. 1^r–16^v (quires I–II) ruled with two outer columns, each 5 mm wide, one on each side of the main text block, and with 26 ruled lines. Ff. 17^r–56^v (quires III–V) are ruled without the two outer columns, and with 26 ruled lines.

Quire signatures. The top of a cut-off catchphrase is just visible in the centre of the base of ff. 24^v (end of quire III) and 34^v (end quire IV). An obscured quire number in roman numerals is just visible in the centre of the base of f. 38^v. Catchword just visible bottom of ff. 64^v and 72^v (end of quires VII and VIII). A modern hand in ink has written quire signatures at the bottom righthand corner of the beginnings of quire III, f. 17^r (3), quire IV, f. 25^r (4), and quire V, f. 35^r (5).

Script

f. 1^r ‘Liber beati augustini contra patarinos o.p.’ added in top margin in late medieval cursive hand.

ff. 1^r–56^r Main hand (A): littera gothica rotunda italiana s. xiii. Gloss: littera glossularis (italiana); typical gloss hand with pointed ‘a’ and trailing final ‘s’, which was used from the mid-thirteenth century for glosses to main text in littera gothica rotunda.

The main text is in a carefully written, compact, formal upright hand with the rounded appearance typical of Italian gothic throughout, probably by the same scribe (although there is a change in ductus and ink from f. 16^v onwards). The scribe uses gothic letter forms consistently throughout: open top, double barrelled ‘a’, uncial ‘d’, uncrossed tyronian sign for ‘et’, upright ‘s’, loose ‘r’ only after ‘o’.

Descenders 4 mm below the line. The feet of minims are finished with a slight hook to the right; the tops of some ascenders are finished with a serif to the left. Most letters are written separately, although there are some ligatures.

The text is abbreviated, although not heavily. Abbreviations are those typical of the thirteenth century: nomina sacra, uncrossed tyronian sign for 'et' etc. Simple dash used to denote abbreviations.

The scribe used both capital and uncial forms for the same initial letter (e.g. both uncial and capital 'd' on f. 6^v), in a manner reminiscent of early Gothic.

ff. 57r–72v Gothic. Written in a different hand (B) to that of ff. 1^r–56^r, freer with much longer descenders.

Decoration

A 3–4 line initial extending into the margin is used to mark the beginning of new sections (e.g. f. 1^r (cap. I), f. 6^r (cap. II), f. 12^v, f. 15^r, f. 18^r, f. 21^r, f. 32^r, f. 34^v, f. 45^r). Initials written in red ink, with tendrils, and other foliate tendencies.

Rubrication: capitula are marked in red.

All other initials are in the same ink as the main text.

Binding

Post-medieval, brown leather, probably early nineteenth-century.

Contents

1. ff. 1^r (l. 1)–31^r (l. 13) Hugo Eteriano *Contra Patarenos*

Postulaverunt a me dudum memorandi quidam viri . . . perditissime hominum scite negas frontibus infigi debeat.

2. ff. 31^v (l. 1)–32^r (l. 6) Prayer.

(*****) in altitudine maris . . . cum esset impassibilis factus est passibilis (*sic*). Deo gracias.

3. ff. 32^r (l. 7)–f. 56^r (l. 13) Fifty-four *capitula* on orthodox doctrine.

Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum unum naturaliter esse deum in cuius nomine baptizati sumus . . . et hoc omnibus catholicis anathemanzandus (*sic*).

These 54 capitula summarizing orthodox doctrine are virtually identical to the text given in Ivo of Chartres's *Decretum*, I, cc. 4–44, *PL* 161, 67–78, where it is attributed to Augustine, *De fide ad Petrum diaconum*.

4. f. 56^v Blank.

5. ff. 57^v (l. 1)–63^v (l. 6) partial life of an unidentified saint

5. ff. 63^v (l. 7)–72^v (l. 18) *Passio S. Andrea*

Provenance

From the collection of Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–1805), a former Jesuit based in Venice who collected some 3,550 manuscripts on his journeys around Italy, mostly from Rome, Naples and Florence; the majority of his collection was purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1817.

Catalogue

Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford, 1854).

Summary

Both manuscripts of Hugo Eteriano's *Contra Patarenos* were copied in the thirteenth century; the evidence of both the script and also the later provenance of the two manuscripts suggests they are Italian in origin.

In both manuscripts the text of the *Contra Patarenos* was copied in the context of other works concerned with the definition of the faith. In the case of *S* the *Contra Patarenos* is included with a treatise written by Innocent III on the Mass, probably dated to c. 1195, as well as the dedication to Cardinal of Sta. Croce Arduin of a treatise by

Hugh Eteriano replying to Greek theological objections to the Latins, and a letter by Hugh's brother, Leo the Tuscan, on the heresy of the Greeks.¹ **S** was obviously compiled after Innocent III had become pope in 1198 as the treatise is attributed to Innocent III: 'ab Innocencio tertio composito'. In the case of **B** Hugh Eteriano's treatise is followed by a set of *capitula* or *regula* on the orthodox faith, from a treatise *De fide ad Petrum* variously attributed to Augustine of Hippo and Fulgentius of Ruspe, in a text similar to that cited by Ivo of Chartres in his *Decretum*, where it is attributed to Augustine.²

The lay out of **B** suggests it was always intended that a gloss be included, as the text was laid out on alternate lines, leaving sufficient space for a gloss.

¹ For the date of Innocent III's *Liber de missarum misteriis* see J. Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198–1216* (Harlow, 1994), p. 21.

² The text of **B** is virtually identical with that of Ivo of Chartres: *PL* 161, 67–78. For other versions of the text (all in 40 chapters, and part of a larger whole) see *De fide ad Petrum sive de regula verae fidei*, cc. 4–44, attributed to Augustine, *PL* 40, 769–777, and Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De regula verae fidei ad Petrum*, *PL* 65, 694–706.

HUGH ETERIANO: LIFE AND WRITINGS

Janet Hamilton

Hugh Eteriano came from Pisa. Nothing is known of his family circumstances, beyond the fact that he had a brother Leo, nicknamed Tuscus and that after his death in a letter to his brother the pope referred to the latter's nephew,¹ 'cum autem dilectum filium nostrum maistrum Fabricium, nepotem tuum, de familia nostra quem pro scientia sua carum habemus' who may therefore have been Hugh's son (Hugh remained a layman till a few weeks before his death). The decade 1110–20 seems probable for his date of birth. In later life he told a younger contemporary something of his early education, describing how he studied in Paris under Alberic² of Mont Ste Geneviève; '... ipso confitente audiui Alberici cuiusdam in dialectis fuisset auditor in Francia' either before or after a period of study in Italy of which nothing else is known. Alberic's surviving works³ show him as a teacher of the so-called *logica vetus* (that is the study of such Aristotelian logic as was known from the translations and commentaries made by Boethius in the sixth century) and in later life Hugh displays a degree of satisfaction in demonstrating his mastery of the syllogistic reasoning which he had been taught.⁴ Alberic was teaching in Paris in the 1130s and early 1140s, while by 1146 he had gone to Bologna. Hugh's own account of his intellectual formation relates how he had been influenced to translate Greek patristic material in order to establish his own judgement on the vexed question of the orthodoxy of Gilbert de la Porrée, a charismatic and controversial theologian from Paris of the same period.⁵ Gilbert taught at

¹ Müller, *Documenti*, XXI, pp. 24–5.

² A. Dondaine, 'Hugues Éthérien et Léon Tuscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 19 (1952), pp. 67–134, at p. 75, l. 14 (henceforward Dondaine 'HE & LT'); C.H. Haskins 'North Italian translators', *Studies in Medieval Science*, pp. 210–212.

³ De Rijk, 'New evidence on medieval logic', *Vivarium* 4 (1966) 1–57.

⁴ See the letter from Hugh to Peter of Vienna, text at pp. 480–3 in A. Dondaine 'Hugues Éthérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958).

⁵ Hugh of Honau, preface to the *Liber de diversitate*, cited A. Dondaine 'Hugues

Paris from 1141, and was bishop of Poitiers from 1142. He wrote a commentary on the *De Trinitate* of Boethius, and on the works of St. Hilary of Poitiers, and in so doing used the tools of logic in a way which alarmed and alienated some of his contemporaries. He was charged with holding and promulgating unorthodox views by (among others) St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and in his defence claimed that his opinions were within the orthodox tradition as represented by Latin and Greek authorities. After an initial trial in Paris he appeared before a papal court at Rheims in 1148, and the detailed narrative of this describes how his clerks came in carrying 'huge tomes' to buttress his case. But though he was learned and well-read Gilbert had one problem—he could not read Greek and so was dependent on texts which were already available in translation, especially a letter of St. Sophronius of Jerusalem and a treatise attributed to Theodoret of Cyrrhus. These both formed part of conciliar documentation, the Latin version of the Acts of the 6th General Council (680), and that of the Council of Chalcedon.⁶ Gilbert's followers were convinced that there was material to bolster their case in other Greek fathers: one canon, Adhemar of Valence, spent the best part of 20 years searching monastic libraries for such material and published a collection of the texts he had found but he had no Greek either and was dependent on existing translations.⁷ Though the movement to translate Greek authorities had been gaining momentum through the previous century a great deal was still not available in Latin, or was only translated in part.

Against this background Hugh's decision to go to Constantinople in search of material becomes explicable. Western interest in Greek learning had grown throughout the period, from the early enthusiast recorded in Tarraconensis 55⁸ to William of Gap's collection of 'libros grecos' in 1167.⁹ Translations of particular authors might be commissioned (John Sarracenus complains of difficulty in finding MSS of Dionysius the Areopagite)¹⁰ or made to meet a perceived

Éthérien et Leon Toscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 19 (1952), pp. 74–5.

⁶ N.M. Häring, 'The Porretans and the Greek Fathers', *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962), pp. 181–209, esp. 186–8.

⁷ Häring, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁸ K.N. Ciggaar, 'Tarraconensis 55' especially p. 125, line 266.

⁹ Berschin, *Greek letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 241.

¹⁰ Berschin, pp. 240–1.

need (Burgundio of Pisa gives the paucity of Latin commentaries on St. John's Gospel as his reason for translating the sermons on this text of St. John Chrysostom).¹¹ None of this explains how and where Hugh learned Greek.¹² The city of Pisa had had commercial links with the Byzantine empire since at least 1111, when the chrysobull confirming the grant of commercial privileges, customs exemptions and the right to occupy their own quarter with seats in the Hippodrome and in St. Sophia is first recorded.¹³ It may be assumed that the majority of the merchants were concerned chiefly to learn such Greek as they might need for social and commercial purposes, but by 1136 there were some Italians with a more sophisticated understanding of the language. In that year on April 10 a formal disputation took place in the Pisan quarter between Anselm of Havelberg and Nicetas of Nicomedia, with a second session in St. Sophia a week later. Anselm was on a mission from the German emperor Lothair (throughout the century theology and politics remain entangled). He had with him a team of interpreters, Moses of Bergamo, James of Venice and Burgundio of Pisa. The subjects under discussion were the perennial bones of contention, the primacy of Rome, the *Filioque* and differences of practice, but according to Anselm agreement was nearly reached¹⁴ and there is no suggestion that language problems clouded the issue. Of the interpreting team Moses is otherwise recorded as working at the Byzantine imperial court, as well as translating theological works, while James translated Aristotle and Burgundio a wide variety of theological works (as well as having a long and successful career in his native city).¹⁵ So perhaps Hugh may have learnt his Greek before he left Italy, more successfully than John of Salisbury who records his attempts to learn from a Greek from Amalfi, and his failure to

¹¹ P. Classen *Burgundio* p. 84.

¹² This he did to such an extent that he was later able to send the Latin patriarch of Antioch a bi-lingual edition of his treatise *De immortalitate Dei*, the Greek text of which has not survived.

¹³ See the *chrysobull* of Alexius I cited and confirmed in 1192 by Isaac II Angelus, Müller, *Documenti*, xxxiv, pp. 43–45 (Greek text), pp. 52–4 (Latin).

¹⁴ *PL* 188, 1163–1248; for arguments that the account of this meeting which Anselm of Havelberg wrote some 15 years later represent an attempt by Anselm to present himself as a diplomatic peace maker rather than giving a true account of events see J.T. Lees *Anselm of Havelberg* (1998), especially p. 170.

¹⁵ For Burgundio see P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa*, *passim*. For Moses C.H. Haskins 'Moses of Bergamo', *BZ* 23 (1914–19), pp. 133–142. For James of Venice L. Minio-Paluello, 'Jacobus Venetus Graecus; canonist and translator of Aristotle', *Traditio* 8 (1952), pp. 265–304.

master the language.¹⁶ Dondaine¹⁷ suggests that Hugh's nickname Eteriano may be evidence that he initially worked in or with the *hetairiae*—the corps of foreign soldiers in Constantinople—and this must remain a plausible guess. By the 1160s his younger brother Leo was on the imperial staff as one of the official translators. There is evidence from the writings of William of Tyre that the emperor Manuel was enthusiastic to employ non-Greeks.¹⁸ Hugh came to prominence in 1166 but the narrative of the events of that year make it apparent that he had been there for some time, long enough to have become known as a figure from whom information about Latin theology might be sought. Discussions which he held with the Greek theologian Nicholas of Methone, who was dead by 1164, are recorded though without any detail.¹⁹

The Pisan community in Constantinople fell foul of the imperial authorities in 1161/2 for reasons both local and international. To take the local reasons first; as we have seen the Pisan merchants had enjoyed commercial privileges at Constantinople for the best part of fifty years and were ensconced in their quarters on the southern shore of the Golden Horn.²⁰ These consisted of a residential area besides two churches and the mercantile facilities. In a letter written to the consuls of Pisa in 1176/7²¹ Hugh refers to a bequest left by a merchant of Pisan extraction to Pisan churches in Constantinople to be paid over if they are repaired ('de excidio ad integritatem redierunt intra biennium'). He gives no reason for why such rebuilding might be needed, though since there were two Pisan Latin rite churches in the city in 1192 we may assume that the repairs were carried out. The residential area was within the city walls; outside the sea-wall were a number of jetties (*scalae*) with storage and money-changing facilities nearby.²² By 1160 the Genoese had gained similar privileges. Squabbles between the expatriate Italian communities were endemic; in a letter to his brother Moses of Bergamo com-

¹⁶ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* I.15.

¹⁷ Dondaine, 'HE et LT', p. 73.

¹⁸ Dondaine, 'HE et LT', p. 79.

¹⁹ An unpublished MS of these discussions is recorded as among the collection at Brescia, E. Martini *Catalogo dei MSS greci*, I 251 (reference in Dondaine).

²⁰ Anselm of Havelberg (n. 11) refers to one meeting with the Greeks as having taken place 'in the Pisan quarter near S. Irene.'

²¹ Müller, *Documenti* X, pp. 11–13.

²² P. Magdalino, 'The maritime neighbourhoods of CP; commercial and residential functions', *DOP* 54 (2000), pp. 209–26.

plains of the destruction of some valuable Greek manuscripts in one such riot c. 1130 which is not otherwise recorded.²³ In 1162 the Pisan and Venetian merchants attacked the Genoese compound. Some 300 Genoese merchants were involved in the fighting, one was killed and much property was damaged. At the same time there were international complications. The papal election of 1159 had resulted in a deadlock with two candidates elected pope; one, Victor IV, was supported by the German emperor, the other, Alexander III, by the King of Sicily. The commune of Pisa backed the German candidate, while the emperor Manuel supported Alexander. In this tense situation the Pisans' commercial privileges which had been confirmed in 1137 when Manuel came to the throne were revoked and the merchants had to move across the Bosphorus and operate out of Scutari.²⁴ Their loss of commercial privileges need not have affected the domestic arrangements of non-mercantile members of the community and whether other Pisan residents also were obliged to move we do not know (in 1166 Hugh appears to have been living in Constantinople itself) but it was not a propitious time for a new Pisan to arrive. The Pisan merchants were later allowed back to their original quarters, but not until 1169, by which time Hugh had gained an influential if unofficial position at court.

When Hugh and Leo came to Constantinople, probably in the late 1150s, it was to a city where there were tensions both within the Orthodox church and between the Orthodox and Roman churches. Greek theologians were suspicious of the use of the new philosophy by western theologians, and this hostility overlapped with the tensions occasioned by differences of practice most dramatically demonstrated in the events of 1054. When in the ninth century the patriarch Photius had complained about the Latins' use of the *Filioque* in the creed the chief focus of the discussion was that this addition had been made without the sanction of a general council in defiance of the definition of the council of Ephesus of 431 which forbade any such addition.²⁵ Since the pope, while pointing out that the offending clause was not in use in Rome itself, said that he saw no problem

²³ For an account of the tensions see G. Day, *Genoa's response to Byzantium* (1988), p. 40; for this riot see the text of the letter in Berschin p. 337, n. 58.

²⁴ Day, *Genoa's response*, p. 26.

²⁵ See J.N.D. Kelly *Early Christian Creeds*³ citing E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum oecumenicorum* (Berlin and Leipzig 1914–) II.1.ii.128f.

in it the matter in dispute came to involve the even more vexed question of the primacy of the see of Rome and its right to legislate without the agreement of the other ecumenical patriarchs. With the establishment of the Frankish Crusader states in the eastern Mediterranean and their patronage of Latin rite Christians other (minor) differences of practice became more apparent. Different ways of calculating the pre-Easter fast—whether it included Sundays—different rules about the prohibited degrees within which marriages might not take place, different customs about the bread consecrated at the eucharist—whether it should contain yeast or not—or about the marriage of the clergy, all these were causes of friction between the rival ecclesiastical hierarchies. In the final chapter of his work the *de haeresibus*²⁶ Leo Tuscus shows his brother as aware of these tensions as they existed on the ground, particularly the problems created by the rules against intermarriage, and the insulting custom (practised by both Greeks and Latins) of washing down altars which had been used by priests from the other side. Both sides tried to justify their positions by reference to biblical and patristic texts, as well as more abstract theological arguments.

These ecclesiastical wrangles might take place on a local level as well. In 1155 a very senior Greek churchman named Soterichus Panteugenus was accused of heresy. He was on the staff of St. Sophia and had recently been declared patriarch-elect of Antioch. This was a prestigious and also a politically sensitive appointment; throughout the twelfth century the right to appoint the patriarch had formed part of the Byzantine demands whenever they signed a treaty with the local Frankish rulers, most recently in 1145. Panteugenus must have had imperial approval to be appointed, and perhaps was so because he was known to be prepared to get on with the Latins. The clergy of St. Sophia were a quarrelsome group. In 1154 when the patriarch Theodotus died an unedifying row broke out over the expenses of his funeral, and the late patriarch's supporters claimed that Panteugenus had accused their man of heresy, saying that his blackened right arm was indicative of the Bogomil sympathisers he had been prepared to ordain.²⁷ They countered by bringing charges of heresy against him on the grounds that he had given written sup-

²⁶ Dondaine, 'HE and LT', p. 126.

²⁷ Text in *Georges et Demetrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1970), p. 209, lines 11–26.

port to unorthodox views expressed by other members of the staff of St. Sophia.²⁸ A teaching member of the patriarchal school, Basil, *didaskalos* of the gospel, had made a connection between the words of Christ at John 27.19 'I consecrate myself' and the formula used at the Solemn Entrance in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom 'You are He who offers and is offered, You are He who receives' claiming that the natural sense of the words is that Christ is both the victim and the one who makes the offering. His opponents said that in saying this he was guilty of Nestorianism, denying that the eucharistic sacrifice is offered to all members of the Trinity. Soterichus was found guilty as charged.

While in itself the quarrel over the orthodoxy of Soterichus concerned only the Greek church a factor in it was probably what was perceived as his pro-Latin stance. It reveals the difficulties of the emperor's position, which the events of 1166 put into clearer focus. The surviving evidence concentrates on the events of the spring of that year, but Dondaine, Classen²⁹ and Häring have gone some way to filling in the background. Once again theology and politics are intertwined. Though the Greek protagonist wrote of his horror at the position of the Latin church the point at issue was one where the Latins themselves were divided. There was a monk named Demetrius, originating from Lampe in Asia Minor, disparagingly described by the pro-imperial historian Kinnamos as 'knowledgeable only in matters of theology, with no secular education'³⁰ who was in the habit of making journeys to the West and there holding theological discussions; whether these trips were officially sponsored or not is unknown. On one such journey to Germany and probably in conversation with a German imperial chaplain called Peter of Vienna—the references in Hugh's letter to Peter of Vienna translated below make it clear that the two men had had discussions but not where or when—the question of the interpretation of John 14.28 was raised. How, asked Demetrius, did the Latins interpret the words 'The Father is greater than I'? The German replied, apparently in terms reminiscent of the pseudo-Athanasian creed 'Equal to the Father as regarding his godhead, less than the Father as regarding his humanity.'

²⁸ *Synodikon* 425–34 in J. Gouillard, 'Le *Synodikon d'Orthodoxie*', *T&M*, 2 (1968).

²⁹ P. Classen, 'Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Latiner', *BZ* 48 (1955), pp. 339–68.

³⁰ Kinnamos *PG* 133, 251.2.

He probably did not know that the Greek church did not use or recognise this formulary.³¹ Demetrius was horrified, perceiving this as a refusal to accept the reality of the hypostatic union as defined at the council of Chalcedon. He wrote a pamphlet on the subject (now lost), attempted to present a copy to the emperor, and lobbied extensively among the clergy of Constantinople. Many, perhaps the majority, were persuaded. Kinnamos says that at one time only the patriarch Luke (who was reputedly pro-Latin and unpopular on that account) and 6 of the 72 deacons of St. Sophia opposed him. The issue was not narrowly theological. Since the emperor was known to desire a rapprochement with the Latins any attack on their theology was also an attack on him. Indeed Kinnamos claims that there was a widespread feeling among Demetrius's supporters that Manuel was certain to be anathematised, if not in his lifetime then after his death.³² At this time he had no male heir, and we may speculate about which members of the sprawling Comnenian clan had a vested interest in fomenting dissent.³³

At first the emperor was unaware of the strength of the opposition, since none of the bishops dared to spell it out. Finally, by throwing a spectacular imperial tantrum he persuaded Euthymius, bishop of Nea Patras to tell him what was going on and summoned a council which met on March 2. Hugh was asked to report on the Latin position and records being summoned late in the day to a meeting which lasted late into the night. Opposition to the patriarch (and so to the emperor's pro-Latin views) existed on a popular level—Hugh records hostility in the street—but the emperor forced through acceptance of his own position, which was approximately that of the pseudo-Athanasian formula. The meeting on March 2 was followed by others on March 6, March 13, and finally April 4, when an imperial edict setting out the approved formula was read

³¹ This would appear from a letter written to Peter of Vienna by Hugh, (text in Dondaine, '1166', p. 480) where Hugh says that the Greeks take the Athanasian formulary 'pro facto ac falsum'. For its popularity in the West at the time see N. Häring 'Commentaries on the pseudo-Athanasian creed', *Medieval Studies* (1972), pp. 208–52 which lists the large number of such commentaries and the wide distribution of the MSS. The only doubt Häring records from the western tradition is some uncertainty as to which Athanasius was its author.

³² Kinnamos *PG* 133.253–4.

³³ For a possible candidate see P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel Komnenos*, p. 217, n. 111.

out and signed by all present.³⁴ Orders were given for the edict to be carved in stone and set up in St. Sophia, where it remained on display until the sixteenth century.³⁵ The proem lists the titles of Manuel, combining contemporary usage with that of the glory days of Justinian—as Mango says thus underlining the political framework within which the whole conflict operated. But any hopes that the emperor might have had that he had silenced opposition and won over his opponents were vain. Emotions continued to run high, and sessions of debate continued over the next six years. At one of these, while the emperor chaired the meeting, he was brought a message that the empress had miscarried a still-born son. They had been married since 1161, but so far he had only one legitimate daughter from his first marriage and a son was much desired. The emperor received the message in silence, but when the session ended he prostrated himself before the assembled bishops and told them what he had heard, ending by asking their prayers and then saying ‘If I am not right in what I am trying to achieve may no child of mine of either sex ever come to term.’ Kinnamos, who reports the scene, says that this wish was fulfilled in the birth of Alexius II in 1169. In that year the patriarch Luke, who had backed the emperor, died still in post. After his death he was attacked by the bishop of Corfu, but the balance of power had shifted in favour of the emperor. Seven metropolitans and sundry minor clergy had to make their peace, Demetrius was dead, and the obstinate bishop of Corfu, together with a deacon who had been so foolhardy as to lampoon the imperial position was anathematised.³⁶

There is no evidence that Hugh was involved in person in any but the first of the formal discussions. This is the first instance where he is known to have supplied the emperor with intellectual ammunition about the Latin position. In a letter to his friend Peter of Vienna he gives a dramatic if self-congratulatory account of what happened.³⁷

³⁴ For a list of the laity present and their relationship to the emperor see P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, Appendix 2.4, pp. 304–5; for a description of the hall where the meeting was held see P. Magdalino ‘Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 4—essays presented to Sir Steven Runciman* (1978), pp. 101–114, esp. 107.

³⁵ C. Mango, ‘The conciliar edict of 1166’, *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 317–30.

³⁶ Kinnamos 6.2, 256.2.

³⁷ For complete Latin text see below appendix 2, pp. 151–3.

‘That confused mass of doubt which, as I think, had its beginning in Demetrius took over almost the whole of Greece after his return, and his rage was not complete until he had begun to spill his poison against the Latins. Indeed we were pointed out in the city as hateful and detestable. At length the subject which was then in many mouths came to the ears of the great emperor. Indeed I was sent for when night had already hidden day, and knowing nothing of the contest that was to come I came immediately, fearing to appear slow. The most merciful prince asked me what the Roman church had to say about the dogma under discussion and I explained it carefully. My account so pleased the august prince, that experienced connoisseur of debate, that he admitted openly to everyone that he felt the same in the secret places of his heart, for agreement and high intelligence are characteristic of men of wide vision. In the same way many of that large body of men who hold a leading place at court accepted the opinion when they heard it. At once a large number of old men with closed minds and young men handicapped by ignorant ill-will began to raise a clamour as if from a concealed ambush (hiding places encourage vice). Three who were considered intellectuals took their place in the front line, begging to take issue with me. One of them stood up first and nearly brought Eutyches back from the dead. This is the beginning of what he said ‘Gregory the Theologian says that the humanity of Christ is that which is unbegotten; but God is unbegotten; therefore the humanity of Christ is that which God is. So the humanity of Christ is not less than God.’ Immediately there was an uproar among the crowd. Silence was called for and after a few minutes I was given the opportunity to reply. I refuted this argument saying that the reference was to identity of person, not of nature, like this. ‘The humanity of Christ is what is unbegotten in its person, not by reason of its nature.’ The imperial humanity and the better part of the nobility assented to this explanation. After him this assertion came dribbling out from a second ‘What is temporal has become eternal; the virgin’s son has become God, he does not fail or cease to be God since he both is and will be God. For this reason he is no less than God. So anyone who says that he is equal to the Father in respect of his divinity but less than the Father in respect of his humanity is not telling the truth.’ To this objection here is the answer I gave, ‘The virgin’s son became God, but he did not exist before time began simply because he was divine, because when as God he existed before time

began, God was not yet man. God became man in time, and does not lose his humanity or cease to be man. If God were always man, he would have a beginning, be created, a creature. For this reason he both is and will be less than God. Therefore anyone who says that he is equal to the Father in respect of his divinity but less than the Father in respect of his humanity says what is true.' Among many arguments that found their mark I employed this syllogism against my opponents. 'Everything which is God by nature has no beginning. But the humanity of Christ has a beginning. Therefore the humanity of Christ is not God by nature but by union.'

We spent the night in talking until the third watch. At length we went off to bed. A few days later repeated arguments took place on the same subject. Truly I am astonished at the unconquered emperor and the patriarch of the city and those few fellow bishops of his whom the guide of many errors did not lead completely from the truth, for almost the whole body of bishops, clerics, monks and people had slipped into holding the opposite position. For some indeed erred in speech and intention, and others in their thought, for a fox indeed pretends to be asleep and the devil pretends to be sincere, the former in order to deceive the birds and the latter in order to lead souls astray.

This debate continued until the first of March just past, the fourteenth indiction. Finally the industry of the supreme prince ordered a synod to be called through which the dispute which had died down was finally settled. Still the most famous judge could not persuade the opposing parties to allow that Christ is less than the Father in respect of his humanity although they freely confess that the Father is greater than he in respect of that same humanity.

My very dear brother Leo has collected the acts of this council and the whole course of my argument in one volume, which I have not hesitated to give to the bearer of this letter, an excellent young man and my very dear friend.

In addition I would like you to kindly note that Greece considers the confession of the faith of St. Athanasius as false and invented. Yet Greece had not been overwhelmed by the filth of Demetrius's false opinion before he returned to Thrace. That is why he did not tell your prudence the truth when he said in the name of his church that the Father was not greater than Christ in respect of his humanity. He has perhaps not merely passed on but is truly dead, for whether he repented in his heart I have not been able to discover.

I do most clearly perceive this, that he prepared a poisoned trap for the Greeks with great skill, and made a wound from which drops of great bitterness will ooze perhaps long afterwards. For although Greece is learned in scholarship of which the finest part is preserved in their store, yet that sinuous serpent Leviathan because he cannot seize the Lord's sheep, attempts to beguile them.³⁸

The image of Hugh as dominating the debate is also present in the introduction which Leo wrote some nine years later for his translation of a work on the interpretation of dreams. He describes a dream of Hugh's in which he saw the emperor seated on a bronze horse on the column of Augustus in the capital and surrounded by learned Latins, but only Hugh had imperial approval.³⁹ It appears that Hugh had originally made a collection of patristic material supporting the Latin position, which survives in a MS in Tarragona. Later Leo combined this with a record of the debates of the synod at Constantinople. It appears from the *explicit* of the Tarragona MS 'The first book of Hugh against the insane doctrine of certain Greeks, who say that Christ in his humanity is equal to God, written at Constantinople in the Greek language' that this *libellus* was composed in Greek, as would be appropriate if it were intended to inform and/or influence the emperor, though only a Latin version is known. In this it was like the much longer treatise on Trinitarian theology discussed below. Hugh wrote in both languages and appears to have⁴⁰ made a choice appropriate to the recipient for the version sent. In all cases only the Latin has survived, and the probability is that the *de anima corpore exuta* (henceforward *de anima*) (composed at the request of the clergy of Pisa) and the *de differentia naturae et personae* (henceforward *de differentia*) which was written at the request of Hugh of Honau and Peter of Vienna never had a Greek version. It is less certain in the case of the *contra patarenos* where there is no suggestion in either of the two surviving manuscripts that a Greek version existed, but the pamphlet is aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the emperor Manuel to persecute the heretics it describes, the *exempla* used to bolster the argument are mostly drawn from Greek

³⁸ Text in Dondaine '1166' at pp. 480–2.

³⁹ Text printed in C.H. Haskins, 'North Italian translators', *Studies in the history of medieval science*, p. 217.

⁴⁰ Dondaine, '1166', pp. 482–3.

sources⁴¹ and throughout the emphasis is on the shared doctrines and discipline of the churches of East and West. Perhaps a Greek version of this too existed once.

Hugh's letter to Peter of Vienna describes the *libellus* (the *de minoritate . . . Filii*) as 'the course of my disputation edited by my dear brother Leo into one volume', but by the time Leo wrote his introduction to his translation of the dream-book of Ahmed in 1175 he speaks of it as 'the book you published.' Neither says whether any part of it had been written before the synod met. Hugh had been involved in discussions with the elderly Greek bishop Nicholas of Methone, who was dead at the time of the synod, and perhaps he came to the emperor's notice through this. He may have been asked to prepare an aide-memoire for the emperor on the Latin position before matters came to a head, as he was asked later to cite the patristic authorities for the Latin position on the *Filioque*.⁴² There is some overlap between the patristic authorities which he uses and those cited in the statement of the emperor's position in the conciliar *acta* which would support this but the evidence is not conclusive. Kinnamos's account of the pamphleteering of Demetrius obviously gives a telescoped version of the time table (Kinnamos himself says that the argument lasted 6 years in all, which suggests a start date of 1164)⁴³ even though the emperor's final loss of patience and successful forcing through of his position took only a matter of days.

By the time Hugh wrote to Peter of Vienna Demetrius was dead, though the reference in the letter to 'last March' as the date of the synod shows that he was writing months rather than years later. The tone of the letter suggests that he and Peter had already met; perhaps Peter came to Constantinople in the suite of Duke Henry of Austria who was in the city in the latter part of 1166.⁴⁴ The Christological debates of the Greek church had their parallels in the Latin church of the same period. Questions which appeared to have been settled in the fourth and fifth centuries reappeared. As theologians used the terminology of the new logic to describe their positions new

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of these *exempla* and how far they were known in the West see below, pp. 143–7.

⁴² *PL* 202.233a.

⁴³ Kinnamos 6.2, p. 256, lines 15–16.

⁴⁴ H. Fichtenau, 'Magister Petrus von Wien', *MÖIG* 68 (1955), pp. 283–97, at p. 289.

areas of uncertainty became apparent. So, for instance, Gilbert de la Porrée taught that the concept 'Deity' existed alongside the concepts of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit—that is, that the divine nature could be conceptually separated from each of the divine persons though it did not exist in separation from them. One of Gilbert's vehement opponents was a South German prelate, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who disliked and distrusted this sort of argument. Both men attracted followers, and insofar as Peter of Vienna and Hugh were perceived as Porretans the followers of Gerhoh opposed them. Clear evidence of this can be seen in a fragment of another account given by Hugh of the events of 1166 to Pope Alexander, which survives in a MS at Salzburg.⁴⁵ The author has copied out a summary which Hugh gives of his position and of that taken by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Antioch which supported it, taken from the conciliar *acta*, but he introduces it with a hostile description of Hugh as one who 'said a great deal in line with philosophy and human tradition [Col. 2.8] and then came to his senses . . .' This report did not reach Salzburg until 1170/1, but the copy sent to the Pope may have travelled west earlier, in 1167/8 when the emperor made overtures to Pope Alexander, offering him support in his quarrel with the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa, even though the pope rejected these overtures lest he be accused of simony for accepting the lavish presents he had been offered.

Later in 1168 a delegation from the commune of Pisa reached Constantinople, led by the consul Alberto of Bolso, together with the *iudex* Burgundio⁴⁶ and Count Marco de Ubaldo. This delegation negotiated the readmittance of the Pisa merchants to Constantinople. The delegates were away from Italy for three years, only returning when their privileges had been re-confirmed with the grant of a *chrysobull* in 1170. Among their baggage when they arrived was a letter from the clergy of Pisa, addressing Hugh in very flattering terms—he is 'perfectly learned in both the Greek and Latin language'—and asking him to write and give them his opinion about what should be done to discharge our duties to the dead. They reported the presence in Pisa of certain heretics, who claimed that

⁴⁵ Printed in Classen, 'Die Latiner', pp. 364–7.

⁴⁶ The translator, previously met in the company of Anselm of Havelberg, and now an elderly man.

prayer and Masses for the dead were of no value, and who even had doubts about the resurrection. Nothing else is known of this dissident group,⁴⁷ and it does not appear from the treatise *de anima*⁴⁸ which Hugh wrote in response that he had been told much more than is in the letter. None of his arguments are directed at named individuals or closely focussed on defined positions. He begins with an impressive list of the patristic authorities which he has consulted, and certainly makes use of some edifying legends which he found in the works of St. Gregory, as well as New Testament material like the mutual recognition of Dives and Lazarus. There is a parallel with the arguments used in the *contra patarenos* in the appeal to tradition to justify Christian practices which are not mentioned in Scripture—the use of the sign of the cross, of blessing baptismal water, and of chrism. He claims that prayers and the offering of Masses for the dead form part of the same body of tradition, and as evidence of its efficacy cites the legend of the deacon Paschasius, saved by the prayers of Pope Symmachus whom he had opposed until the day of his death. The use of legendary *exempla* to bolster an argument which is found here and in *contra patarenos* is not employed in the *beatam et immortalem trinitatem*, or *de differentia*, works aimed at a more specialised readership. The argument of *de anima* builds to a forceful climax with its account of the Last Judgement, but it is not easy to see how it would convert the doubter. As Hugh himself says in his covering letter, telling people what to do is easier than making them do it, but perhaps he supplied the clergy of Pisa with arguments which had not previously occurred to them.

In his impressive opening Hugh says that he will base his arguments on Gregory, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Basil, Augustine, John of Damascus, Hippolytus, Nilus, Anastasius, Cyril and others.⁴⁹ All these authorities recur in the longer work on the Trinity which was not finalised until c. 1175, but which Hugh was presumably working on at the time of writing. In *de anima* the majority of the detailed references are to stories from the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, though it is never identified as the source of these

⁴⁷ Though the criticisms levelled at them bear some similarity to those used of a western group led by Peter of Bruys by St. Bernard of Clairvaux (*PL* 183.1100, *Cant.* 66.4.11) and by Hugh of Amiens (*PL* 192.1287.8).

⁴⁸ For this see below appendix 1.

⁴⁹ For evidence that HE translated this material himself see the article by Lechat, cited in Dondaine 'HE and LT', p. 67. I have not been able to consult this article.

edifying anecdotes. This leads us to consider the puzzle of the books available to Hugh. As will be clear when we consider the work on the Trinity there he was writing with Greek material close to hand; he follows the arguments of contemporary Greek theologians in detail and cites patristic material verbatim.

Greek theological texts, patristic and modern, were available in the libraries of Constantinople. Nigel Wilson⁵⁰ provides a convenient review of what is known of these, together with a clear, though late, description of the buildings of the imperial library. In the middle of the fifteenth century this was an open loggia on the ground floor at the entrance to the palace, with stone benches and tables for the readers and manuscripts stacked probably on their sides on shelves. References survive of the existence of shelf marks, at least for the contents of the patriarchal collection. Besides the imperial and patriarchal libraries there were also collections at the major monasteries. We know nothing of which library Hugh used—in view of his brother's position in the emperor's service the imperial library seems the most likely. At least one of his correspondents, Aimery of Limoges, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, believed that he had access to works which Aimery wanted copied—the commentary of John Chrysostom on the epistles of St. Paul, a chronicle which would cover the period 'from the splitting of the empire' (possibly the death of the emperor Theodosius),⁵¹ and the proceedings of the council of Nicaea which were, as Aimery had heard, in the imperial palace. Burgundio of Pisa gives a vivid account of the problems which might arise when copies were required.⁵² When Burgundio had come to Constantinople as an ambassador, on the mission to regain the Pisans' commercial privileges, his young son who had accompanied him on the journey died. As an offering on behalf of the young man's soul Burgundio determined to undertake the translation of the commentary of St. John Chrysostom on the gospel of St. John, because he believed that this gospel had not been commented on in Latin since the version

⁵⁰ *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 8 (1967), pp. 53–80; see also R. Janin *Constantinople byzantin* (1964), pp. 162–3.

⁵¹ But see K. Ciggaar in K. Ciggaar, A. Davids and H. Teule eds. *East and West in the Crusader states*, OLA 75. 'Manuscripts as intermediaries', pp. 131–51. Dr Ciggaar thinks that the chronicle in question was that of Zonaras and that the splitting of the empire dates from the coronation of Charlemagne.

⁵² P. Classen, *Burgundio*, pp. 84–5.

made by St. Augustine. He had already translated Chrysostom's homilies on the gospel of St. Matthew when Pope Eugenius III was sent only the Greek text in response to a request. All efforts to buy a copy failed, and he was reduced to borrowing two separate manuscripts from two different monasteries and setting two scribes to transcribe them, one starting at the beginning and one in the middle. Now the Dialogues of St. Gregory which Hugh used for the examples in *de anima* did exist in a Greek translation, which he might have been able to use to jog his memory,⁵³ but this did not apply to St. Jerome on the Psalms or his letter to Paula and Eustochium, or to St. Augustine on the Trinity, and all three are cited at some length in the Trinitarian work. The argument of *de anima* is concerned to set out the orthodox Christian doctrine of the relationship of the soul and body. Hugh cites another impressive list, this time of pagan philosophers, who had discussed whether the soul was incorporeal or not, but he gives no detailed account of their views and may well have derived his information about them at second hand.

The human soul, in Hugh's view, because it is not locally limited, can survive separation from the body, and this is confirmed by the visions of saints—St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, together with an unnamed hermit on the Lipari islands (both these taken from St. Gregory). But the dead, especially the penitent dead, need the prayers of the living. Here for the first time there is a reference to the views of the group at Pisa under attack. They are opposed to praying for the dead as not mentioned in scripture. In this they have attitudes in common with the Patarenes of Constantinople, and Hugh uses the familiar counter arguments which he might have met in St. Basil, the appeal to unwritten ecclesiastical tradition as well as the scriptural though pre-Christian example of the offering made by Judas Maccabeus (2 Maccabees 12.41–45) on behalf of those killed in his patriotic war. Besides this legendary and scriptural material which the canons of Pisa might have known there are a few specific instances of Hugh's detailed knowledge. He reminds them of the story that St. Gregory (here given the nickname the Dialogist, which the Greeks used to distinguish him from various namesakes) prayed for and obtained the posthumous salvation of the emperor Trajan, adding 'Do not think this is an invention; the Greek church bears witness

⁵³ F. Halkin, *Le pape S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'hagiographie byzantin. Subsidia hagiographica* 51 (1971), pp. 106–11.

to it.⁵⁴ This is followed by a citation from St. Athanasius. By contrast, in c. 26 there is a brief discussion of a difference of opinion between Greeks and Latins on the interpretation of I Corinthians 15.51, as it affects the general resurrection at the end of time. Hugh records that Greeks and Latins had a different text of this verse and cites the relevant commentary of St. Ambrose (thus displaying his erudition) but he places no stress on the differences between Greeks and Latins here since his main concern at this point is to argue against a literal view of the final resurrection which sees it as a re-instatement of the present world order, and on this Greeks and Latins were agreed.

De anima was written in some haste; the Pisan delegation which requested it had left Italy for Constantinople in November 1168, and made a leisurely stopover in Ragusa. By July of 1170 they had obtained what they had come for and embarked on what, from Burgundio's account, was an equally leisurely return, via Messina, Naples and Gaeta, reaching Pisa in the late autumn of 1171. Some of its structural incoherence may derive from this, though it must be admitted that clarity of argument is not Hugh's strong point. What strikes the modern reader is, as has been said already, the lack of specificity in the arguments used in *de anima* confronted with the problems of the afterlife. Hugh is concerned to emphasize the survival of the human personality, that the dead and living can continue to recognise one another just as the dead can communicate with others in the same state, and bases these views on scriptural texts and edifying legend. There is no mention of any doctrine of Purgatory, that intermediate state whose theology was beginning to interest theologians in the west (and which later became yet another subject of disagreement between the branches of the church).⁵⁵ The emphasis Hugh puts on the efficacy and desirability of prayers and the offering of masses for the dead would have seemed entirely acceptable to his Greek contemporaries. Insofar as these arguments respond to what he had been told of the problems of Pisa we may

⁵⁴ G. Paris, 'La légende de Trajan' *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études* 35 (1878), pp. 261–303; A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo* (Rome, 1883) 1–45. In this version though St. Gregory prays Trajan back to life and baptises him this is a reward for his justice towards a wronged widow, rather than gratitude for the bridge he had built across the Tiber.

⁵⁵ J. Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, at pp. 204–5 he refers to Hugh but dates this work to c. 1150, twenty years too early.

suppose that the focus of the dissidents there was resentment of clerical control of the means of grace, and of the system of financial fees which underpinned it. Opposition to an establishment position can easily be interpreted by such establishment as an attempt to undermine it, so *haeresis* here. And of course the transition from resentment of a monopoly to assertion that what is being monopolized has no value is relatively easy. To this extent Hugh had some knowledge of what worried the canons of Pisa, but there is a clear contrast between this unfocussed discussion and the targeting of the views of the Patarenes of Constantinople in *contra patarenos*.

I propose to leave the discussion of *contra patarenos* to the last for two reasons. The date and circumstances in which this pamphlet was written is not at all clear. Unlike Hugh's other writings it has no formal dedicatory introduction, only a brief sentence claiming that it has been written in response to a request by persons unnamed, and no formal final paragraph, only the expression of a wish that the emperor will take steps to extirpate the heretics. It will be argued below that a date in the mid to late 1170s is the most probable, but there can be no certainty. In many ways it is unlike Hugh's other work; it is more focussed, more clearly argued, and less concerned to demonstrate the author's erudition, though as will be seen a degree of acceptance of contemporary theology of the time is implicit. The second reason is simpler. Since this introduction is concerned to put Hugh and his oeuvre into perspective it seems appropriate to leave this anomalous pamphlet to last, when its content and argument can be seen more clearly by comparison with his other work.

The Pisan delegation were not the only visitors to Constantinople to make contact with Hugh about this time, though the chronology of the others is not so closely established. It was probably in the early 1170s that another German theologian with an interest in Greek patristic thought, Hugh of Honau, arrived as a member of a delegation from Germany. The German emperor was concerned to make overtures to Constantinople, focussed particularly on Manuel's support for pope Alexander with whom the German emperor Frederick was still at odds, and the Archbishop of Mainz was sent there in 1170 'on important church and state business', while Conrad Archbishop of Worms followed him in 1172. Hugh of Honau, in his capacity as *diaconus sacri palatii* may have formed part of either delegation. From his own account we learn that on this occasion he

stayed in Constantinople for 'a month and seven days' and that this was 'at the time of the schism', i.e. between 1159–77. He was a friend of Peter of Vienna, who we have already encountered in dialogue and correspondence with Hugh some years earlier, and both men were pupils of Gilbert de la Porrée. It would appear that on his way to Constantinople Hugh of Honau met and talked to Peter of Vienna, who suggested that Hugh Eteriano, bilingual, theologically knowledgeable and based in Constantinople would have solutions to Hugh of Honau's queries. With great enthusiasm Hugh of Honau embarked on his journey, convinced that any difficulties of travel would be more than worth-while and 'undertaking the embassy imposed on me by the emperor gladly, less because I was buoyed up by its prestige than because I was eager to see and to talk to you.'⁵⁶ But Hugh refused to see him and in the letter whose content has just been summarized Hugh of Honau speculates about the reason.

Undeterred, though disappointed, Hugh of Honau supplied a written list of the questions he had hoped to raise, using a German interpreter as intermediary. These all concerned matters of Trinitarian theology; e.g. What (in the godhead) was the difference between nature and person; why, when both *ousia* and *hypostasis* were translated by the one Latin word *substantia* did we speak of three *hypostaseis* and only one *ousia*? Could it be said that the nature which the three persons of the Trinity have in common, their *ousia*, was incarnate? Finally, was there any Greek authority for the doctrine that the Holy Spirit can be said to exist, or proceed from the Son? This last point was, as we have seen, the one with the greatest political resonance, since differences here were the main official reason for the breach between Latins and Orthodox, and until some solution could be found political alliances, especially those expressed in terms of marriage negotiations, remained problematic. One of the subjects under discussion in 1172/3 was the possibility of a marriage between Manuel's daughter Maria and Frederick Barbarossa's son. Another marriage proposal, at an only slightly less high level, between the emperor's niece Eudocia and the King of Aragon, Alfonso II, probably underlies the translation which Leo Tuscus made of the Greek

⁵⁶ For the text of the letter from Hugh of Honau to Hugh Eteriano of which this is an excerpt see Dondaine 'HE and LT,' p. 129.

eucharistic rite, the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, at the request of Raymond of Montcada, the seneschal of Barcelona, in 1173.⁵⁷

Although he had received the list of queries in writing Hugh was still not mollified, though it appears that his unfavourable reply sent via the interpreter Roger was not delivered to Hugh of Honau until after the latter had left Constantinople. Hugh claimed that the address, which put Hugh of Honau's name before his own, was insulting. Still Hugh of Honau persisted. His second surviving letter records that he had already apologised for a social blunder which was the responsibility of the scribe, not his, but that he supposes that this was a diplomatic excuse and that the real reason was that Hugh did not want to have any dealings with those on the other side of the papal schism. By the time he wrote this letter the schism was over and pope and emperor were reconciled. He and Peter of Vienna could unite in renewing their request for information from the Greek Fathers, and Eteriano answered by assembling and sending them his pamphlet *de differentia* in or about 1179. This is discussed in chronological order below. While in Hugh of Honau's original letter he had spoken of the position of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity there is no mention of this in the written reply, because in the interim Hugh Eteriano had written his major theological work, the three volumes of which appear in *PL* 202 under the erroneous title *De Haeresibus Grecorum*.⁵⁸

It is a lengthy work, cols. 231–396 in *PL* 202, and Hugh was obviously proud of it. He sent a copy to the Pope,⁵⁹ whose letter of acknowledgement is dated November 1177, and a bilingual version to Aimery, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, both of whom replied in flattering terms. The pope expressed the hope that Hugh might be able to bring pressure on Manuel to show 'reverent affection' for the Roman church, so that there might be one fold and one shepherd. The patriarch of Antioch was more specific in his enthusiasm—'as we are nearer to the Greeks we feel more comfortable

⁵⁷ A. Jacob, 'La traduction de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan', *OCP* 32 (1966), 111–162. The Montcada family were founders and patrons of the monastery of Santa Creus, the source of the twelfth century pilgrim text describing Constantinople (K. Ciggaar, *REB* 53 (1995, esp. pp. 118, 120) so the choice of Raymond was not fortuitous. The Greek text which LT translated has survived and is datable to 1173–8, Jacob, pp. 113–4.

⁵⁸ At pp. 98–100 of 'HE and LT' Dondaine explains the circumstances in which this misleading title became attached to the printed text.

⁵⁹ Whose letter of acknowledgement is dated November 1177.

thanks to your precise knowledge'. He put pressure on Hugh to come to Antioch, though admitting that there were advantages all round if he did not do so, asked (again) for manuscripts to be sent, and sent the present of a silver cup. A copy of *de anima* had already been sent to Aimery who responded by offering Hugh a prebend 'worth 1000 bezants' within a week of arrival should he decide to come and settle.⁶⁰ This presentation is datable since the bearer of Hugh's book was Reynald of Châtillon, who had been in Muslim hands since he was captured in 1161. He was released in 1176, as a condition of the peace made with the *atabeg* of Aleppo by his stepson Bohemond III of Antioch. The period September 1176–May 1177 is the only time when his presence in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is not attested for some months. After this he returned to and did not then leave the Holy Land.⁶¹

In the preface to Book 1 Hugh explains how he had come to write the work, in response to a question from the emperor about what patristic authority there was for the Latin position on the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the other members of the Trinity—the vexed and much discussed question of the *Filioque*. The initial discussion had involved three senior Roman churchmen, Hugbald of Ostia (later pope Lucius III), Bernard of Porto and John, cardinal deacon of SS. John and Paul. Hugh was persuaded to put the arguments in written form since his study of the patristic material had convinced him that the Latin position could be defended on these grounds as well as by syllogistic reasoning. He cited as patristic authorities for the Latin position three names which were familiar to the Greeks, St. Basil, St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, and made extensive verbal quotations from all three, as well as others. In the introduction he expresses modesty about his capabilities and a plan (not entirely evident in practice) for the work which is to begin with an account of Latin teaching and then deal with the Greek criticisms of it.

Throughout the three books of the completed work Hugh's line of thought is sometimes difficult to follow, because he is arguing against particular positions and lines of defence put forward by his Greek opponents. Since these Greek theologians used overlapping

⁶⁰ For the offer of a prebend see Dondaine '1166' p. 474 and the reference there to a MS in Tarragona; for the letter offering a silver cup see *PL* 202.229–32.

⁶¹ B. Hamilton, *The leper king and his heirs*, pp. 111–2.

but not identical arguments to defend their ideas about the internal relationships of the Trinity Hugh's counter-arguments zigzag with a degree of discontinuity from point to point. He names among his opponents (some of them recent), Nicholas of Methone,⁶² Nicetas of Nicomedia (who had debated the point with Anselm of Havelberg), Nicetas of Byzantium (who may be Nicetas Acominatus, author of a *Thesaurus of Orthodoxy*). Dondaine suggests that live debate may underlie some of the arguments, though obviously this could not apply to the citations from Theophylact of Ochrida (bishop from c. 1090–c. 1118) or the long dead patriarch Photius. The detail of the argument need not concern us too closely, but it is relevant to stress the wide variety of patristic material both Greek and Latin which is cited *verbatim* and at some length. An informed use of Greek is evident from the distinction which Hugh makes⁶³ between *genetos* spelt with one 'n' and *gennetos* spelt with two. He may have found this distinction in *De Fide Orthodoxa* of St. John of Damascus⁶⁴ but though this work was known in the West in the twelfth century and in part translated⁶⁵ the point which Hugh is making depends on knowledge of the difference in meaning which results from the difference of spelling which he is concerned to explain for the non-Greek readers. He also uses Latin patristic material, drawing especially on Sts Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome. It does not appear that the Greek churchmen knew these works.⁶⁶ Hugh claims⁶⁷ that the position adopted by one of his opponents attacks that of Ambrose and Augustine, but he does not say that the man intended to do so from knowledge of the authorities. The majority of his citations are

⁶² See A. Angelou, 'Nicholas of Methone, the life and works of a twelfth century bishop' in *Byzantium and the classical tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham 1981). He was the author, among other works of a tract attacking the Latin position. See also the reference to the Brescia MS above n. 19.

⁶³ *PL* 202, 285B.

⁶⁴ Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene*, p. 103.

⁶⁵ The existence of the work was known to Gilbert de la Porrée and it may be one of the texts which encourage Hugh to go to Constantinople. See P. Classen 'Der verkannte Damascenus', *BZ* 52 (1959), 297–303. The early twelfth century translation by Cerbanus only included cc. 45–52 (Kotter II pp. xlii.1); Burgundio of Pisa had made a complete version which he began to work on in 1148 (Berschin p. 390) but the point Hugh is making depends on knowledge of the Greek text. In any case we do not know whether Hugh in Constantinople knew of the existence of the translation in Italy.

⁶⁶ I have not been able to find evidence of the existence of Latin theologians translated into Greek.

⁶⁷ *PL* 202.291B.

taken from Greek fathers who would have been familiar; St. Cyril, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzes and St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. Towards the end of his Book II the attack shifts to the position and arguments of Photius, not merely on the *Filioque* but also on the question of *azymes* (that is, whether the eucharistic host should be made of leavened or unleavened bread). This, as the account given by Leo makes clear, was a practical subject on Hugh's mind at the time of writing this section of the work.⁶⁸ It is not easy to determine how long this period of writing was. Each book has a separate preface. Book I describes how the work began in direct response to a query from the emperor as Manuel had been in discussion with the visiting cardinals. Book II describes the cheering effect of Leo's return⁶⁹ and the encouragement he has given Hugh to press on with the laborious process of finding patristic material. In his absence Hugh has felt isolated and under attack. Finally the preface to Book III, while again expressing gratitude to Leo, associates with him a friend named Caciareda, who appears in the pope's letter of thanks (dated November 1177) as the bearer of that copy.⁷⁰ The continual interchange of delegations on a political level, but all involving questions of church unity, must have encouraged Hugh to research his position whenever he finally came to write up the results of this research.

Light is thrown on the practicalities which underlay the theology in the account which Leo gives⁷¹ of live debate.

'A man named Hugo, surnamed Eterianus, learned in Greek and Latin, had smoothed out⁷² the thorny traces of the fiery vehemence of the Greeks by forceful disputation and by publishing the books

⁶⁸ See also comments on the translation of the *Tractatus contra Francos* below p. 140.

⁶⁹ In the introduction to his translation of the *Dreambook of Ahmed ben Sirin*, quoted above p. 120. Leo says that he has been accompanying the emperor while the latter was on campaign against the 'Persians'; presumably in the winter of 1175/6.

⁷⁰ The chronology of Leo Tuscus creates problems. The discussion between Hugh and the emperor is datable to 1175/6; the cardinals were in Constantinople when their discussions took place and led to the writing of Bk I of the work on the Trinity. But the offer of money to the pope and his refusal lest he be charged with simony is usually put in 1168, unless of course the same series of events took place on more than one occasion.

⁷¹ Text in Dondaine 'HE and LT', pp. 126-7.

⁷² Translating 'implanaverat' as derived from 'planus'. This meaning is not that given in *LS* or the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, but the word is rare and the meaning given 'led astray' makes no sense in this context.

*On God immortal*⁷³ at which all Greece was amazed and terrified, and the emperor in his wisdom praised him most highly. He often conversed with the emperor, both on the liberal arts and on articles of faith, talking both to the ruler himself and to the leading Greek philosophers. Finally there was a time when the emperor, who was on the march to the most remote parts of Bithynia, heard, near the place called Pimaninon⁷⁴ that Hugh had been summoned by the supreme pontiff. He sent for him and utterly forbade him to revisit Italy. When he arrived after much else he told the emperor that if he wanted to be reconciled with the Roman church he should first remove from the church of the Greeks those chains of superstition which he deliberately described from what had been said and added; 'It is a major cause of offence that a Latin man who is about to marry a Greek woman is required to abjure all the rites of the Latin church on oath. Moreover it is repulsive to wash the altars on which Latin priests have celebrated Mass, and to rebaptize those who they have baptized.' With most stringent and terrifying decrees the emperor promised that he would eliminate these all. Moreover he seemed to remove the unfortunate consequences of bitter dislike from his heart and said publicly that the Latins did not stray from the path of true faith in any way, saying 'Whatever the Latins think concerning the faith has brought me grapes and honeyed sweetness, except insofar as some spirit of opposition has laid hold of each church. If you can remove this, Eteriano, every Latin will find a reliable and friendly haven throughout my empire. But to change this habit of discord is very difficult if not almost impossible, for the Greeks never write that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but the Latin will never destroy what he has written nor remain silent. So how can this wound of disagreement be healed?' Hugh replied 'If Greek and Latin embrace the fundamentals of the truth of the Gospel and both admit that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, agreement will certainly come if your Imperial Highness encourages it as you can. Let the Greeks draw a line round 'alone', which is foreign to the opinion of almost all the saints, and just as, though it is unwritten, they believe that the Spirit is 'God from God, Light from Light', in the same way

⁷³ The alternative title used by Leo for *On the Trinity*.

⁷⁴ On the southern side of the Sea of Marmara, near the large army base of Lopakion.

let them believe that the Spirit proceeds *from*⁷⁵ the Son, which is supported by the authority of many saints, and let them cease to criticise the Latins for their faith and so incur a twofold difficulty by forcing the Latins to say and write this.' All the nobles of the court were in favour of this and the emperor agreed and promised to propose it, saving the rights of his empire. So then ambassadors of the imperial clemency were sent two or three times to Pope Alexander, to reconcile the churches and the empire. In return cardinals came many times to Constantinople in obedience to the pope's instructions. The whole business was thoroughly aired, arguments were weighed on either side, a Chrysobull was drawn up in golden letters and the cardinals carefully wrote what had been said in the contents in Latin and affixed their signatures. Both versions were taken to the Supreme Pontiff. But the venerable pope Alexander did not confirm it lest he incur the charge of simony; for the emperor's party had brought a great sum of gold to be distributed when the business was complete. Meanwhile rumour was burning the ears of the German emperor Frederick, who had been a persecutor of the church since the sack of Milan and before. So, forewarned by his chancellor named Christian, a man of eloquence and industry, of what was going on he sent him with other chosen men to the supreme pontiff offering submission. Indeed he himself, as he was in Italy, followed their steps in haste and falling to his knees at the Pope's feet in synod at Venice accused himself of rashness, disobedience, transgression and tyranny and swore to abide by all the orders of the Pope. So Alexander, the great successor of Peter, showed that he was absolved on earth, papal favour being restored to him together with the communion of the church. For this reason when he celebrated Mass he replaced the crown on his head. But the ambassadors of the Greek emperor Manuel realised that the glue they had inserted had melted, and the light they had kindled had gone out.'

This passage, taken from the introduction written by Leo to his collection of anti-Greek material *De haeresibus et praevaricationibus Graecorum*, was obviously written after 1177 when Pope and German emperor were reconciled. The meeting of Manuel and Hugh in Bithynia should be dated autumn 1175/spring 1176, in the lead-up

⁷⁵ Eteriano must here be playing on the twofold meaning of the Greek preposition *dia* meaning both 'through' and 'by means of' which Greek theologians could accept.

to what proved the disastrous campaign of Myriocephalon, while the reference to pope Alexander and his refusal to listen to Byzantine overtures is normally put some years earlier, in about 1168, unless money was offered on more than one occasion.⁷⁶ The compromise formula to solve the theological problem which is here attributed to Hugh finds some echoes in the work on the Trinity. There remains the problem that Hugh could write a lengthy attack on the Greek position while apparently being prepared to accept something much less clear-cut. Leo's account says nothing of any pressure from the emperor's side, and in any case Hugh may well have been prepared to accept a less than ideal reality.

While these theological differences continued to provide the main focus of Hugh's intellectual life more mundane problems also came his way. The most detailed account of these concerns the events which followed the death of a wealthy merchant named Signoretto, of whose estate Hugh was one of the executors. The letter he wrote about this to the consuls of Pisa has survived,⁷⁷ and gives a vivid account of his dealings with the imperial tax officials. It also reveals between the lines the factious character of Pisan society. Though Signoretto originated from Pisa, at the time of his death he is described as being 'a burgess of the unconquered emperor Manuel' and had apparently been on bad terms with the home government. Hugh claims to have spent much time as Signoretto lay dying persuading him with difficulty to remember his home city in his will, because at death all quarrels should be laid aside. The terms of the will, in so far as they affected the consuls, were straightforward. 400 *hyperpers*⁷⁸ had already been spent, together with the presentation of money for Gospel books, portable altars (*argenti tabulas*) and crosses to the (Latin rite) church of St. John the Baptist *extra muros*. To the churches of Pisa itself were given a gold chalice (value 150 *hyperpers*) together with 100 *aurei*, another 100 *hyperpers* to the remaining churches of the city and 50 *aurei* for bridges and hospitals. In addition the executors had decided to give 100 *hyperpers* to the Pisan churches in

⁷⁶ As P. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel Komnenos*, p. 88, believes.

⁷⁷ Müller, *Documenti* X, pp. 11–13.

⁷⁸ Throughout this document Hugh alternates the term *hyperper* and *aureus*. *Hyperper* is the term normally used to refer to the standard Byzantine gold coins of the time. The use of *aureus* as an alternative is probably for stylistic reasons as no other gold coins were readily available in the quantities mentioned. We owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Michael Metcalf of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum.

Constantinople provided they had been repaired within 2 years (otherwise to the poor) and finally in the expectation that the restoration would be completed they had bought a bell, value 20 *aurei*. All this money was kept on one side by the nephew (*nepos*) of the deceased. At this point in the narrative enter the tax man, a Hungarian Jew named Astafortis, who had returned with the emperor from one of Manuel's Hungarian campaigns.⁷⁹ If we are to believe Hugh this man took advantage of the unpopularity of the Latins to impose on them an extra penalty for all monies owed to the fisc.

The terms of Signoretto's will were evidently unpopular among the Pisan community of Constantinople, who told the tax man that the deceased had died intestate, worth more than 30,000 *hyperpers*, a sum which his executors had fraudulently converted. Hugh was summonsed and ordered to pay over this sum, which he claims he did not have. At this point the narrative becomes vivid. After sundown, Hugh went by moonlight to the dead man's house and there met his fellow executors. Astafortis and a group of officials from the tax office arrived and attempted to break the doors down, demanding all the money in the house. Under threat the dead man's nephew Gerard handed over the money which had been destined for the Pisan churches in Constantinople. A shouting match ensued, and the tax man went to the emperor claiming that he had arrested the executors, having found them red-handed dividing up the monies of the deceased. All were imprisoned except one who succeeded in finding a horse and galloping away. Astafortis claimed that Hugh had 100 pounds of gold hidden in his house which had belonged to the dead man and on the strength of this arrested him too. Hugh claims that Greeks as well as Latins were shocked to hear this and that the town talked of nothing else. The Venetian community offered to post bail of 100,000 *aurei* on his behalf and the Greeks 20,000. When morning came Leo Tuscus headed a delegation to the emperor who ordered Hugh's release. The original 100 *hyperpers* which Gerard had handed over, for which an official receipt had been given, were restored and it was agreed that the fisc had no claim on these because

⁷⁹ These campaigns were numerous, but the last one which was led by Manuel himself took place in 1165. If HE's phraseology 'the emperor on his return from Hungary brought with him Astafortis' is to be taken at face value this is the latest year when he can have reached Constantinople though the campaign of 1167 resulted in the capture and display of many Hungarian prisoners.

they had been given to charity. The officials of the fisc also handed over 216 *aurei* for charitable purposes, while Hugh and his colleagues by pressurising the debtors of the estate succeeded in recovering the whole original sum. At the time of writing this total was under seal and awaiting distribution at an appropriate time.

Apart from its portrayal of that familiar ogre figure, the Byzantine tax man, in action the letter is informative in other ways. Signoretto had evidently fallen out with at least some elements of the home government. Not merely did Hugh have to put pressure on him to make any bequests to the city at all, he had chosen to be buried, in a marble tomb with a 14 line verse inscription, in the church of St. John Baptist *extra muros*. The location of this church is unknown; in the fifteenth century there was a Hospitaller church of St. John in Galata (if Janin's location for this is correct it was within the ramparts of Galata but of course outside the city limits).⁸⁰ Little is known of this community apart from the slaughter of the sick there in the massacres of 1182.⁸¹ One prior, Fr. Peter, was sufficiently valued by the emperor Manuel that in 1163 he asked the pope to ask the Master of the Order in Jerusalem not to replace him.⁸² Perhaps what influenced Signoretto was that money given to the Hospitaller church would be spent there; any offerings to the church of St. Nicholas in the Pisan quarter (over and above local running costs) was sent to the cathedral of Pisa itself.⁸³ It is not clear whether the same was true of the other Pisan church, SS. Peter and Paul.

It is also apparent from Hugh's letter that he himself was criticised by some Pisans. The (false) information that Signoretto had died intestate which formed the basis of the tax man's claim came from inside the Pisan community, and Hugh is very careful to stress that he has acted honestly throughout, that he does not dissemble in what he says about the home government and that though he has taken time dealing with the estate he has acted with all due diligence. It may not merely be for effect that he stresses the large sums pledged for his bail (though not by Pisans) and the numerous persons

⁸⁰ Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 580 and see his map of Galata.

⁸¹ William of Tyre, 1023–4.

⁸² A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers in twelfth-century Constantinople' in *The Experience of Crusading*, I, 225–32.

⁸³ See the terms of the document issued by the consuls of Pisa giving the revenues of their concessions in Constantinople to the cathedral, Müller *Documenti* VII, pp. 8–9.

of influence whom Leo Tuscus was able to take with him in his delegation to the emperor.

Signoretto died in December 1176; since the settlement of the estate took time we should probably date this letter at the earliest in summer 1177. Later that summer the papal schism came to an end with the reconciliation of the pope and the German emperor in Venice in July. For Hugh in Constantinople this meant that he need have no scruples about having dealings with theologians previously tainted with political involvement with the anti-pope, and he settled down to provide what Hugh of Honau and Peter of Vienna had asked him for some years previously; an answer to a series of questions about what Greek theologians meant by *ousia* and *hypostasis* in the nature of the Godhead, and their relation to the Latin vocabulary of *natura* and *persona*. The modern editor of this text, N. Häring⁸⁴ is critical of the way in which Hugh fails to make it clear when he is quoting his authorities verbatim and when he interlaces quotations with his own comments, but beyond any doubt it must have impressed (and indeed did impress) its intended readers with a far wider range of Greek material than they had previously encountered. There were familiar names, St. Cyril, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. John of Damascus, all of which they might recognise from conciliar documentation though they might not be familiar with their works as a whole. Häring thinks that Hugh must have known St. John of Damascus from the translation Burgundio had made, but it is surely more likely that he used the Greek version of which many copies existed in Constantinople. Burgundio's translation is of course evidence that the reputation of John of Damascus was known in the west, where Cerbanus had already translated the (comparatively short) section on the Incarnation and Christology.⁸⁵ But in this work Hugh also referred to two theologians who would have been far less familiar, Anastasius of Sinai (d.c. 700) and Theodore Abuqarrāh (writing c. 800–825). Anastasius was a prolific author, popular in the Greek world for his anti-heretical writings against the Monophysite and Monothelite positions⁸⁶ and for a series of questions and answers

⁸⁴ 'The *liber de differentia naturae et personae*', *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962), pp. 1–34.

⁸⁵ Cerbanus made his translation c. 1145 in Hungary, see Berschin, p. 218.

⁸⁶ Häring thinks that the quotations from St. Cyril in Hugh are taken directly from Anastasius without acknowledgement.

on the problems which might confront Christians in their everyday lives.⁸⁷ Hugh seems to have taken most of his material from the *Hodegos*, the chief anti-heretical work. Theodore was another Eastern monk. He came from Edessa and was bishop of Harran c. 800; he may also have been a pupil of John of Damascus. The majority of his writings were in Arabic—again directed against Monophysites and a defence of the orthodox theology of images⁸⁸—Syriac and Greek. None of the Syriac works appear to have survived, and it is not certain which of the Greek works which appear under his name are authentic (and original, rather than translations from the Arabic). Hugh's attention may have been drawn to him because he was included in an iconophile collection, though this would not apply to the material quoted here, or alternatively he may have become interested because Abuqarras was concerned to support the role of the Pope as successor of St. Peter and head of the church. Griffiths, his modern editor, thinks that this position was a result of Abuqarras's discussions with Muslim theologians who claimed that the non-scriptural developments of Christian doctrine had taken place in politically motivated councils called by Byzantine emperors, but Hugh need not have realised this.

Hugh's 'little book' was complete by the summer of 1179 when Hugh of Honau was next in Constantinople, 'for two months in the year in which the Lateran council was held in the spring'. Hugh of Honau took his copy back with him to Germany.⁸⁹ Next year we find him proudly showing it to the papal legate Peter of Pavia, as evidence that his master Gilbert de la Porrée had been correct when he claimed that his understanding of nature and person in discussing the Trinity was supported not only by S. Hilary of Poitiers but by the Greek tradition. Hugh of Honau used it as a basis for his own writing on the same subject.

There is one other minor work by Hugh Eteriano which has not been included in the previous list because it appears to be merely

⁸⁷ J. Haldon, 'The works of Anastasios of Sinai' in *The Byzantine and early Islamic near East* ed. Cameron and Conran, (1992), vol. 1, pp. 107–41.

⁸⁸ S.H. Griffith, 'What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the ninth century: Byzantine orthodoxy in the world of Islam' in L. Brubaker ed. *Byzantium in the ninth century: dead or alive?* (Byzantine Studies 5 (1998)), pp. 181–94.

⁸⁹ See Hugh of Honau's preface to the *Liber de diversitate naturae et personae*, printed in Dondaine 'HE and LT' pp. 74–5. Another copy was sent to 'Alexius subdiaconus sanctae Romanae ecclesiae', see Dondaine, '1166', p. 476.

a translation of a Greek list of charges against the Latins. He sent a copy with a dedicatory letter to Arduin, who was active as Cardinal of Santa Croce between October 1178–January 1183.⁹⁰ This Greek text, usually referred to as the *Tractatus contra Francos*, was one of a number of such collections produced both before and after 1204.⁹¹ The charges listed here are reminiscent of, though not identical with, the points Hugh raised in conversation with the emperor. They cover a wide range, from serious theological differences like the insertion of the *Filioque* in the creed to minor differences of practice, like the use of silk rather than wool for Latin vestments, and the custom of bursting balloons ('vesicas') in church on Christmas Eve. This final charge does not appear in Hergenroether's Greek text, but is added at the end of the Latin version with another 5 minor complaints, perhaps reflecting a slightly different original. There are other minor textual variants between the Seville MS version of Hugh's translation and the one printed by Hergenroether as the right-hand column of his Latin text.

In the summer of the year 1179 the young French princess Agnes arrived to marry the heir to the imperial throne, a marriage which was celebrated in March of the following year. The emperor had been taken ill in March, but he did not die until September. The chronicle account claims that almost to the end he put his faith in astrologers who had promised him fourteen more years of reign⁹²—if true this may explain why the arrangements for the regency left room for the inter-family faction fighting that resulted. The young emperor was not yet twelve and his mother was regent, governing with the support of the late emperor's nephew the *protosebastos* Alexius. The dowager empress was on bad terms with her late husband's daughter the princess Maria. Popular discontent blamed the unpopular decisions of the regents on their Latin advisers, carefully screening out the fact that Maria had a Frankish husband, Renier. All the

⁹⁰ The Greek text and Hugh's translation with another Latin version is printed in J. Hergenroether *Monumenta Graeca ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentes* (Ratisbon 1869, repr. Gregg, Farnborough 1969 with an introduction by J. Hussey), pp. 62–71: Arduin had previously been archdeacon of Piacenza and a canon regular at S. Frediano in Lucca. He was appointed cardinal by Alexander III, and may have already known Hugh.

⁹¹ A. Argyriou, 'Remarques sur quelques listes grecques enumerant les heresies latines', *Byz. Forschungen* 4 (Amsterdam 1972), 9–30.

⁹² Nicetas Choniates VII.286–7.

time Manuel's cousin Andronicus who had been banished to the Black Sea was available to stir up trouble. Matters came to a head in the spring of 1182, when the tensions within the city erupted in rioting. The Latins were the primary targets. They were unpopular, they were easily identifiable, and perhaps significantly it was popularly believed that they had large quantities of valuables in their houses. The story of Signoretto and the taxman gives some idea of what might be expected to be available. Of course once the riots started the mob did not stop at ransacking the houses of wealthy merchants. William of Tyre⁹³ records among much else the massacre of the sick at the Hospital of St. John and the assassination of the papal legate, whose body was subjected to humiliating treatment after his death. In the panic stricken exodus which followed many of the Latin community fled to the Latin kingdoms of the Holy Land, telling their horror stories when they got there, while some of the able-bodied members of the community used such shipping as they could find to mount a series of punitive raids on the coastal settlements of the Sea of Marmara and the eastern Aegean. Some fled west, and some appear to have been sheltered in Constantinople itself. Hugh was among the western refugees. His old friend Cardinal Ubald was now pope, as Lucius III. Dondaine⁹⁴ suggests with some probability that it was Hugh who told the papal court about what had happened to the legate.

The massacre of the Latins took place in April 1182. By June of that year Hugh was in Rome. The Pope greeted him warmly, ordained him first deacon then priest, appointed him cardinal. All this is known from the letter which Leo Tuscus received from the Pope in the autumn of that year, by which time Hugh was dead.⁹⁵ He fell ill and died in August of that year. Leo had stayed in Constantinople; perhaps his official status as an imperial translator protected him. The letter was sent through the hands of Leo's nephew Fabricius, whom his proud uncle had earlier described as a promising student of Greek⁹⁶ so the family tradition carried on.

The Pisan community was resilient; just ten years after the massacre they had so far recovered that they could petition the emperor

⁹³ William of Tyre p. 1023.

⁹⁴ 'HE and LT' p. 92.

⁹⁵ Text in Müller *Documenti* pp. 24–5 and in Dondaine 'HE and LT' p. 94.

⁹⁶ C.H. Haskins, 'North Italian translators', *Studies in medieval science*, pp. 218–9.

Isaac II Angelus to confirm their original commercial privileges. The *chrysobull* survives, reiterating the privileges first given them by Alexius I, and confirming in detail the area in which they lived.⁹⁷

Contra Patarenos

There is no external evidence in the form of dedication or letters of acknowledgement to supply a background to this text. Obviously it was written in the lifetime of the emperor Manuel, and so before 1180. Throughout the text there is a recurrent emphasis on the shared practice of the Greek and Latin churches (see p. 204). In his writing career Hugh had been concerned with theological areas of difference, but apart from the shrill note of self-congratulation in his letter to Peter of Vienna (above pp. 118–9) describing the events of 1166 he shows little evidence of animus on any personal level. The conversation with the emperor which Leo reports (above pp. 132–4) combines a clear outline of areas of disagreement as seen from the Latin side with the implicit expectation that they could be solved by the emperor. Throughout the time that Hugh lived in Constantinople the emperor Manuel was concerned to achieve a rapprochement with the pope, partly as one element in the complex jigsaw puzzle of Mediterranean power politics. When Hugh was confronted with evidence of the existence of a dissident group in the city itself he was obviously concerned not to provide ammunition for anyone who might wish to use what he wrote to insert a wedge between the two churches.

This said, what can we deduce from the pamphlet itself? It consists of two parts; in the first the unorthodox opinions of the Patarenos are summarized and Hugh argues against them; in the second he provides edifying stories to bolster the arguments already produced.

His first charges against the Patarenos are that they preach in secret and criticize the clergy, claiming that if they are sinful characters their ministry of the sacraments is invalid and not efficacious. Both these charges have something in common with what is alleged against contemporary dissident groups in the West, where there is a body of evidence about the unease felt by the laity (prompted by,

⁹⁷ Müller, *Documenti* XXXIV, pp. 40–58.

if not originating from clerical admonitions) at receiving the sacraments from priests who were known to be sinful, especially sexually sinful.⁹⁸ In the eastern church dualist sects such as Paulicians and Bogomils adopted a more extreme position⁹⁹ which denied the efficacy and validity of any sacrament since all involved the use of matter, that tainted creation of the evil one. The second charge is that the Patarenes preach in secret, again a charge even more readily levelled at western dissidents rather than eastern. It should be noted that the Bogomils, as Zigabenus reports, complained that their orthodox opponents who prayed in public disobeyed the clear teaching of Christ when they did so, and so justified their own practice.¹⁰⁰ The third is that they refused to swear oaths. This is not a charge regularly made against the eastern heretical groups, but is against western ones, though often in circumstances where their refusal to swear might be seen as a refusal to implicate themselves. At Lombers¹⁰¹ as in Constantinople the heretics could appeal to scripture to justify their position. Hugh goes on to consider the possibility that his heretics refuse to accept the Old Testament. Unfortunately here as elsewhere in the *Contra Patarenos* he gives no evidence that this is so. As in *De anima* he seems vague about the views of his opponents.

He is clear about their views on the sacraments; that they are opposed to marriage and do not accept the orthodox explanation of what happened to the eucharistic elements after the consecration. He does not elaborate on what they did believe, and whether they thought that the eucharistic sacrifice was in any sense a necessary part of the Christian faith. The last sentence of this section would suggest that they did think it important, with its return to a discussion of the problem of sinful priests. Hugh then embarks on a series of improving stories to strengthen the theological (and patristically based) arguments he has already used. The stories he uses cast an interesting light on the nature and breadth of his reading. They are; the communion of Macedonius, the Jewish boy, the statue of the woman with an issue of blood and the Mandylin. Between the first

⁹⁸ U.-R. Blumenthal, 'Gregory VII, celibacy and revolution' in M. Frassetto ed. *Medieval Purity and Piety*, p. 248.

⁹⁹ Peter Higoümenos, c. 12, p. 87 of *Sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, J. Paramelle: Euthymius Zigabenus *PG* 130.1292.

¹⁰⁰ G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten* p. 80.

¹⁰¹ *Acta Concilii Lumbariensis RGHF* XXII, pp. 157–68.

two and the second set there is a brief section on the cult of icons which Patarenes (by implication) reject.

The communion of Macedonius is taken straightforwardly from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen,¹⁰² written in the fifth century. This was a popular work which gave a history of the early ecumenical councils and their role in establishing orthodox doctrine. Hugh's interest in this field is evident elsewhere; indeed it was a desire to understand the Greek doctrine of the Godhead and the Trinity which had originally brought him to Constantinople. It would be natural for him to read the standard histories. The story of the communion of Macedonius is only found in Sozomen, and is not included in the Latin *Historia Tripartita*—in other words Hugh must have encountered it in his reading of Greek material and probably not before he reached Constantinople. I have not found evidence that this story was included in conciliar *acta*, so it may provide some evidence of what he independently read and remembered.

The story of the Jewish boy was much better known. It existed in multiple versions in both Latin and Greek dating from the sixth century onwards,¹⁰³ and Hugh may have encountered it in Pisa, in Paris or in Constantinople. All that can be said is that his version in this text is strongly locally coloured. The glass-blower's son goes to the school attached to S. Sophia, not some vaguely described 'large church' but 'the Great church'. Not merely was there a school there¹⁰⁴ but the glass-blowers of Constantinople had their workshops clustered in the area between S. Sophia and the Golden Horn.¹⁰⁵ When the boy has been rescued he and his mother are taken before the patriarch, who is given a name, Menas, actually borne by a sixth-century incumbent, and from there to the emperor. It is true that the MSS give the emperor a chronologically impossible name, but from Justin (the MSS) to Justinian is not a major transition. In Hugh's version the glass-blower is given a trial and is only condemned to death when he refuses to convert, by contrast with the lynch law of other versions where the 'Christians' seize the father and throw him in turn into the furnace. Hugh describes an orderly process, which ends with mother and son attached to S. Sophia.

¹⁰² See Commentary, pp. 213–4.

¹⁰³ See Commentary, pp. 214–7.

¹⁰⁴ R. Browning, 'The patriarchal school', *Byzantion* 32, pp. 167–202; 33, pp. 11–40.

¹⁰⁵ Marlia Mundell-Mango 'The commercial map of Constantinople', *DOP* 54 (2000) 189–207, esp. p. 202 and fig. 27.

From the Jewish boy he passes to a discussion of the miracles worked by icons. These were a predominantly eastern form of religious art—the *Tractatus contra Francos* reproaches Latin Christians for their use of three-dimensional sculpture to represent the crucifix,¹⁰⁶ although there were already icons in the city of Rome, whose liturgical function became more important in the early thirteenth century with their use in procession by Innocent III.¹⁰⁷ Hugh supplies a list of wonder-working icons which is close to that contained in the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*.¹⁰⁸ This document purports to be a letter written by the three patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria to the iconoclast emperor Theophilus, reporting the proceedings of a synod held in Jerusalem in 836 which supported the icons, and sent to the emperor obviously before his death in 843. In the most recent edition of this work Munitiz argues that the letter may be genuine, but that the list of miraculous icons which it includes was originally separate. Like the Mandylion and the statue at Caesarea Philippi discussed below these icons were both objects of popular devotion and the staple ingredients of iconodule and anti-heretical writings. So Euthymius of the Periblepton refers to the Mandylion, and the *acta* of Nicaea II to both the Mandylion and the statue. By the later twelfth century the Veronica/Volto Santo/Mandylion image was becoming familiar in the west, as were numerous relics of the blood of Christ, some associated with the bleeding icon of Beirut.¹⁰⁹ Hugh refers to bleeding icons, perhaps thinking of the icon of Beirut, or perhaps of the icon of the Virgin in S. Sophia which also bled when it was stabbed (see commentary pp. 217–8 for details of the evidence of local cult). He also refers to healing icons, which were widely found, but which unlike the self-defending icons do not appear in the list given by the three patriarchs. Again, the material he is using is drawn from the Greek world. Both the icon of Beirut and the S. Sophia Virgin were among the treasures of twelfth century Constantinople. They would have been familiar to inhabitants of the city whether Greek or Latin, even though he does not underline the local connection.

¹⁰⁶ *Tractatus contra francos* ed Hergenroeter, p. 65, c. 8.

¹⁰⁷ D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the middle ages*, pp. 114, 142.

¹⁰⁸ *The letter of the three patriarchs to the emperor Theophilus* ed. J. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Haralia-Crook, Ch. Dendrinos.

¹⁰⁹ N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood*, esp. pp. 56–8.

The statue of the woman with the issue of blood is another example of a physical object with wonder-working powers whose reputation was familiar through iconodule propaganda, especially the *acta* of Nicaea II. It was first described by Eusebius in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* and in his commentary on the gospel of St. Luke.¹¹⁰ The Nicaea account quotes a sermon which is concerned to stress the three dimensional character of the object. Whatever its original character it is clear from all the accounts (see references in the commentary) that it only survived in fragments, whichever wicked emperor might be blamed for its destruction. Hugh does not write as though he expects his readers to be familiar with anything beyond the original gospel story. Although he may have learnt of the existence of the statue from the proceedings of Nicaea II his account is very close to that of Eusebius, which suggests another ecclesiastical historian whom he may have read.

Finally, at greatest length, he uses the legend of the Mandylion, the towel on to which Christ miraculously transferred the image of his face before the passion, which performed a healing miracle on the king of Edessa to whom it had been sent, and a miracle of preservation when that city was attacked by the king of Persia. His version is close to the so-called Constantine Porphyrogenitus account, which was probably composed by or for that emperor soon after the relic reached Constantinople in 944. E. Patlagean¹¹¹ remarks on the similar title given to the emperor here and in the *Book of the Ceremonies*; in both the emperor is described as 'Constantine *basileus* of the Romans in Christ the eternal *basileus*' and in the narrative stress is laid on the legitimacy of Constantine's position as emperor. These details, like the story of the copy of the Mandylion with which the Persian king's daughter was fobbed off, are not included in Hugh's account, but he is concerned to narrate the details of the ceremonial arrival of the Mandylion and the subsequent observation of the feast, in language which echoes that of the canon of the office of the Mandylion in the eleventh century (see commentary p. 224). There is one difference; Hugh links the towel and the tile as did 9 Greek MSS of Dobschutz's class, all dating from the eleventh and twelfth century,¹¹² though they speak of the tile as being kept at

¹¹⁰ See Commentary, pp. 218–9.

¹¹¹ E. Patlagean, 'L'entrée de la Sainte Face'.

¹¹² E. van Dobschutz, *Christusbilder* II, 38*.

Edessa, not Hierapolis, or Constantinople to which the Hierapolis tile had been brought in 964. Hugh says nothing of the *adventus* of the tile, though accounts of this are known.¹¹³

The legend of the Mandylion was familiar to Greeks but how far was it known in the West at the time Hugh was writing? Dobschutz lists three Latin MSS with the story, one twelfth, one thirteenth and one fourteenth century, but like Gervase of Tilbury in his *Otia Imperialis* they do not appear to know anything about the transfer of the relic from Edessa to Constantinople, and must all derive from a pre-tenth century account. Anne-Marie Weyl Carr¹¹⁴ may be correct in her claim that the Mandylion did not retain great popular devotion once the impact of its first arrival had died down, but the summary of relics held at Constantinople and sold by the Latin emperor Baldwin II to St. Louis of France shows that it had been mentioned in 5 of the 8 surviving visitors' accounts.¹¹⁵ Whether the visitors were also told anything of the story of its arrival is not clear; the author of *Tarraconensis* 55¹¹⁶ knows the basics, that the image was made by Christ and given to king Abgar, but is more concerned to describe the reliquary and the serious effects of opening it. By comparison with his elaborate descriptions of processions in honour of relics or icons of the Virgin this is sketchy. It would seem, once again, that the version of the story known to Hugh was a Greek one, though he does not write as though he expects the Patarenes to be familiar with it.

Finally he turns to the most fundamental symbol of the passion, the cross, which he thinks the Patarenes do not venerate. Their attack is an interesting one. Paulicians claimed to venerate as the cross the figure of Christ with arms outstretched, Bogomils attacked it as a gallows, but the Patarenes asked 'Why the cross rather than any other passion symbol?' Their *reductio ad absurdum* suggested that Christians might as well venerate the donkey of the Palm Sunday entry to Jerusalem. Apart from the donkey the other passion relics

¹¹³ F. Halkin, 'Translation par Nicephore Phocas de la brique miraculeuse', *Subsidia Hagiographica* 38, pp. 253–60.

¹¹⁴ Anne-Marie Weyl Carr, 'Court culture and court icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople' in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829–1204*, ed. H. Maguire (1997), pp. 81–100.

¹¹⁵ *Le trésor de la Sainte Chapelle*; exhibition catalogue. J. Durand, M.-P. Lafitte and D. Giovanetti, pp. 32–3.

¹¹⁶ K.N. Ciggaar, 'Tarraconensis 55', pp. 120–21.

mentioned were all included in the imperial relic collection.¹¹⁷ It appears that thinking of an answer to this new attack was a problem for Hugh, and his solution, a literal interpretation of *Colossians* 2.14, is not impressive.

Throughout the pamphlet he has been concerned to supply anti-heretical ammunition. In the first part where he argues against the views of the Patarenes on oaths, on marriage, on the eucharist and the ministrations of sinful priests his arguments derive from the theological mainstream, more frequently western than eastern. Thus his eucharistic theology is more clearly dependent in imagery and phraseology on St. Ambrose than on St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and though there is evidence from the Greek church that the laity might be concerned about the calibre of their priests this is more often expressed as a desire for guidance from the 'spiritually discerning'. There remains the problem, briefly touched on above (p. 125) of what Latin theologians were available to him, and whether he was wholly dependent on memory. When he cites St. Ambrose on the resurrection (above p. 126) did he have a text, or had he made his own version of the *Glossa*? The edifying legends might be more readily remembered, though here, as we have seen, he uses versions which he might well have consulted in local monastic collections.

To sum up, the *Contra Patarenos* is an interesting work in the way in which it straddles east and west. Written in Latin and probably directed at a Latin speaking group, though one which Hugh tells us was based in Constantinople and the surrounding area it uses a mixture of Latin theological argument and miracle stories from the Greek repertoire to supply its unnamed recipients with a selection of material to bolster their mainstream position.

¹¹⁷ See the list in the Louvre exhibition catalogue, n. 115.

APPENDIX ONE

The writings of Hugh Eteriano

1. *De minoritate ac aequalitate filii homini ad deum patrem.*

A collection of biblical and patristic material supporting the Latin position on the status of the human nature of Christ. This was presented to Manuel Comnenus in a Greek version—‘Constantinopoli editus graeco eloquio’. Written c. 1165/6.

It has not been published. The Latin text is known from MS Tarragona 92. The text of the prologue, three sentences from the treatise and the dedicatory epilogue are printed by Dondaine ‘Hugues Ethérien et le concile de Constantinople 1166’, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958) at pp. 475, 483.

2. *De anima corpore exuta.*

A treatise on the survival of the soul and the value of prayers for the dead composed in response to a request from the clergy of Pisa. The text, together with their letter of request and Hugh’s reply is printed in *PL* 202.167–226. This was written c. 1170.

3.

Three books originally written separately but intended to form a whole, on the Latin position concerning the dispute over the *Filioque*, that is, whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, from the Father alone or from the Father through the Son.

The text is printed, together with letters of dedication for the copies sent to Pope Alexander III and to Aimery of Limoges, Patriarch of Antioch, in *PL* 202.227–396, under the misleading title *De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos devolvunt*. For an explanation of this title see Dondaine ‘Hugues Ethérien et Leon Toscan’ in *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 19 (1952), at pp. 98–104. It is referred to in the present text as *De trinitate*, by Leo Tuscus as *de Deo sancto et immortalī*. Written before 1177.

4. *De differentia naturae et personae.*

A short treatise on Greek Trinitarian terminology, written in response to a request from Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honau, as its first sentence indicates. Printed with commentary by N. Häring 'The *Liber de differentia naturae et personae* by Hugh Eteriano', *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962) pp. 1–34.

5. A translation of a Greek list of anti-Latin complaints written at the request of and sent to Cardinal Arduin. A copy of the Latin text is to be found in the same Seville MS as the *Contra Patarenos*; the original Greek together with two Latin translations, one of them by Hugh, is printed in J. Hergenroeter *Monumenta graeca ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentes* pp. 62–71. Written 1179–82.

6. *Contra Patarenos.* Known from Bodley MS Canon. 1. pat. lat, ff. 1–31 and from MS Seville Colombina Cod. 5.1.24, ff. 67r–75v. Date of writing unknown.

APPENDIX TWO

The Latin text of Hugh's letter as printed in Dondaine '1166', pp. 480–2

Praedilecto et sapienti viro amico suo Petro Ugo Eterianus in Domino semper gaudere.

Plurimum gaudium amicitiae tuae scriptura ac exactionis mihi exhibuit festivitas. Laetatus sum quoque multo uberius quod te ingeniis maiorum parem praesens aetas produxit. Distuli petitum responsum nec tamen arguendus sum longi silentii quippe non prius comperi tempestivum facultatem respondendi caritati tuae. Nam dubitationis illius colluvies quae in Demetrio sumpsit originem, ut arbitror, totam paene Graeciam post eius reditum invasit, nec furor sibi satisfacit antequam in Latinos effundere venenum coepisset. Commonstrabamur equidem in civitate invisi et detestabiles. Pervenit tandem ad aures magni imperatoris qui multis tunc erat in ore sermo. Accersitus sum quidem cum diem iam absconderet nox et futuri certaminis nescius, actutum veni coram ne tardiusculus apparerem. Interrogatus a clementissimo principe quid super exorto dogmate Romana dictaret Ecclesia, diligenter exprompsi. Placuit principi augustissimo ut eleganti iudiciorum spectatori sententia adeo autem ut idem id pectoris sui sacrarium sentire confiteretur omnibus palam, nam in bonis viris magni animi magna concordia et maxima ingenia sunt. Similiter autem et plerisque aulae proceribus quorum erat frequentissimus ordo vulgatus sermo acceptus extitit. Continuo senum desperatorum multitudo iuvenum quoque agresti invidia contaminatorum tamquam ex occultis insidiis, nam vitia latibula foveant, inclamare admaturavit. Tres tamen qui philosophi censebantur acie in prima constiterunt litigare mecum quaeritantes. Unus quorum imprimis exorsus est et Eutychem fere ab inferis revocavit. Erat autem sermonis eius initium hoc: 'Theologus inquit Gregorius quod caro Christi est id quod ungens; ungens autem Deus est; caro igitur Christi est id quod Deus est. Quare minor Deo non est Christi caro.' Mox factus est multisonus in turba tumultus. Indicto silentio, post paululum fandi copia mihi reddita est. Absolvi paralogismum, ad personam identitatem non ad naturam referendam esse, hoc modo: Caro Christi est id quod ungens personaliter, non naturae ratione. Cui solutioni humanitas imperialis et procerum

pars electior assentit. Post quem a secundo huiusce demanavit assertio: 'Temporalis factus est aeternus; filius virginis factus est Deus, nec desiit nec desinet esse Deus, siquidem semper est et erit Deus: quare semper et est et erit Deus: quare non est minor Deo. Mentitur ergo qui dicit aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem.' Cui obiectionis ecce responsum quod reddidi. Filius virginis factus est Deus; verum is propter divinitatem ante saecula non fuit quia quando Deus ante saecula fuit, homo adhuc Deus non fuit; sed in tempore Deus homo factus est nec desiit nec desinet homo esse. Siquidem semper Deus erit homo, et conditus et creatus et creatura; quare semper et est et erit minor Deo. Igitur qui dicit aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem non mentitur. Inter multiplices quoque sermonum aculeos syllogismo usus sum in adversarios hoc: Omne quo natura Deus est principio caret; caro autem Christi non caret principio: caro igitur Christi natura Deus non est, sed tantum unione.

Detinuimus noctem loquendo usque ad tertiam circa vigiliam. Deinde discessum est cubitum. Rursus post paucos dies super eodem capitulo disputatum est multotiens. Sed recte demiror non modo invictum principem verum primum civitatis pontificem et eius coëpiscopos paucos quos devius multorum errorum a vero non ex toto abduxit, nam episcoporum, clericorum, monachorum plebisque universa fere concio in contrariae dictionis sententiam prolapsa est. Sed hii quidem lingua et animus, alii vero mentem tantum exorbitaverant, nam vulpecula quidem somnum, demon vero sobrietatem simulat, et illa quidem ut aviculas, hic autem ut animas decipiat.

Ea autem contentio usque in Kalendis nunc praeteriti Martii, indicationis quartae decimae protracta est. Demum vero summi principis industria sinodum advocari iussit, per quam lis semiviva data est correctioni. Non tamen nominatissimus moderator impellere contrariam partem valuit, ut Christum secundum humanitatem Patre minorem esse asserat, quamquam Patrem eo maiorem secundum eandem humanitatem firmiter fateatur.

Acta vero illiusmodi concilii ac totius meae disputationis seriem in unum quasi volumen amantissimus frater meus Leo redegit, quod presentium latori Fi. egregio iuveni et amico karissimo dedisse non ambigo.

Ad haec benignitati tuae notum esse volui quod beati Athanasii catholicae fidei confessionem Graeci a pro ficto et falso reputat. Verumtamen in coenum falsi opinionis Demetrii, antequam idem in

Thraciam regrederetur non fuerat immersicata. Quare mentitus est prudentiae tuae dum Patrem sub voce suae Ecclesiae non esse Christo maiorem secundum humanitatem assereret. Qui, proh dolor, non modo forsitan migravit, sed mortuus est, nam utrum penituerit in visceribus hominemque superciliosum exuerit parum compertum habeo. Unum quidem hoc persentisco, quod laqueum pestilentiae Graecorum etiam scientissimus paraverit, vulnus fecit e quo eximiae amaritudinis gutta manabit forsitan post longa tempora. Nam erudita licet disciplinis Graecia sit, quarum in alvearibus optima portio apud eam est, tortuosus tamen coluber Leviathan ille, quia dominicas oves rapere nequit, seducere eas nequaquam remoratur.

Sed quoniam os adversariorum lacrimis oppletum silentio famulatur, finem haec lectio nanciscitur quem non habebit affectio. Ergo abunde salvum esse te percipio.

CONTRA PATARENOS

Edited by Janet Hamilton

*Hugo eterianus de ab hominabili patherenorum secta et omnifariam
reprehensibili capitulum
De occulta predicatione confutatione
De vera dominici corporis consecratione per malos etiam sacerdotes
De iuramento in necessariis negotiis faciendo
De sacramento coniugii nullatenus abdicando
De conversione panis et vini ***** veri corporis et in nostro
domini sanguine
De ratione adorandarum ymaginum
De exhibenda vivifice crucis veneratione et eius signo fidelium fron-
tibus insigniendo
Incipit liber Hugonis eteriani*¹

Postulaverunt² a me dudum³ memorandi quidam⁴ viri et spectabiles
quorum⁵ ingenium viget et modum amplivagus non excedit modus
an imperatoria constitutione mactam⁶ iri debeant qui Patherenorum
⁷quasset perfidie sectam et non modo de partibus Elespontiatis⁸ verum
de orbe universo evellet⁹ meruerunt ut explicationibus manifestum
est respondeo¹⁰ et maxima¹¹ capitis diminutione suspendio et incen-
dio digni sunt ut magistri erroris ut fallaces ut seductores ut ypocrite¹²

¹ *. . . * not in B; B has added before text in a later hand *Liber beati augustini contra patarinos*.

² B *gloss* i. rogaverunt.

³ B *gloss* olim.

⁴ B *gloss* recordandi aliqui.

⁵ B *gloss* ** valde gen**flore/rhetoricis coloribus** i.late vagatis. There follows a line which cannot be read.

⁶ S imperatoriam constitutionem; B *gloss* occidi debeant/i.puniri.

⁷ B *gloss* paterini qui ab augustino *****issimi sive paterini quod in pateris i.e. ciphis particulum execrationis more catuline bibendo conferant sequaces.

⁸ B *gloss* frixa et helles ibant pro aureo velle et ceciderunt in mare ubi frixa cecidit frixeum mare ubi helles cecidit hellespontus vocatus.

⁹ B evellant.

¹⁰ B Quibus responsum quidem dedi breviter ad filiorum utilitatem insignivi paginam *Gloss* i.scripsi in libello.

¹¹ B Maxime.

¹² B *gloss* simulatores ypos i.e. sub crisis aurum.

ut deceptores ut advertentes populum a christiana fide. Johannes apostolus in epistula sua dicitⁱ *si quis venit ad vos et Christi non habet doctrinam nolite recipere eum in domo nec ave*¹³ *ei dixeritis. Qui enim dicit*¹⁴ *ave congruat*¹⁵ *operibus illius malignis.* Homines autem de quibus sermo est nunc dimiserunt doctrinam ecclesie quae est Christi doctrina. Christi verba sunt et mandatum et preceptum¹⁶ eius; hoc estⁱⁱ *quod dico vobis in tenebris dicite in lumine et quod in aure auditis predicate super tecta*; hoc est quod vobis solis dixi et in uno loco hoc est in tenebris et in aure, predicate in plateis publice¹⁷ et manifeste sed viri scelerati versucia¹⁸ pleni lumen fugiunt et in angulis occulte predicant¹⁹ quare Christi doctrinam et mandatum et preceptum eius non servant. Amplius dei preceptum est²⁰ quod nulli predicent sicut illi scelerati predicant nisi a deo mittantur. Isti autem a sathana missi sunt quod manifestum ex eo est quod²¹ non habent aliquem sancti spiritus sancti gratiam. Apostolus Paulus dicit quodⁱⁱⁱ *unicuique predicatori datur manifestatio spiritus ad utilitatem*, id est gratiam per quam patet quae in eo sit spiritus sanctus. *Alii quidem datum per spiritum sanctum sermo sapientie*,²² ut Iohanni, Paulo, Augustino, Ieronimo, Crisostomo,²³ Gregorio et quam plurimis aliis; alii sermo scientie *secundum eundem spiritum*, ut possit docere in manifesto²⁴ quos libet et respondere in²⁵ singulis; *alii fides in eodem spiritu*, ut possit²⁶ signa facere et non faciunt,²⁷ et transferre montes, id est demones; *alii gratia sanitarum in uno spiritu*, ut possit

¹³ B *gloss* i. salve.

¹⁴ B dixerit.

¹⁵ B communicat (*gloss*) i. participat.

¹⁶ B audistis.

¹⁷ B publicum.

¹⁸ B *gloss* perversa astutia.

¹⁹ B *gloss* ***** ideo.

²⁰ Not in S.

²¹ B quia.

²² S unicuique predicatori datur sermo sapientiae.

²³ B chrysogono.

²⁴ B *gloss* i. aperte.

²⁵ B de.

²⁶ S possint.

²⁷ et . . . faciunt not in B.

ⁱ 1 Jn. 10–11.

ⁱⁱ Mt. 10.27.

ⁱⁱⁱ 1 Cor. 12.7–10.

sanare omnes langores et omnes infirmitates;²⁸ *alii operatio*²⁹ *virtutum*, ut possit punire incredulos sicut Paulus cecavit Helymam,³⁰ Petrus interemit³¹ Ananiam; *alii prophetia*, *alii discrecio spirituum* ut sciat cognoscere³² quis est spiritualis homo et quis animalis et quis est propheta et quis est seductor; *alii genera linguarum*, *alii interpretatio linguarum*³³ sed nominati perditissimi predicatores³⁴ neque linguas noverunt neque interpretationes linguarum³⁵ neque prophete sunt sed seductores oculi fures³⁶ et latrones, animales homines qui non³⁷ percipiunt que sunt dei, idiote³⁸ et nescii neque plus quam alii homines ledere possunt, quippe nullum cecare ut Paulus Helymam possunt neque interimere ut Petrus Ananiam³⁹ solo verbo interemit. dicant ipsimet numquid possent febres pelleri leprosos curare langores corporum tollere? Nichil omnino talium facere possunt. Nullos audent docere in manifesto sed in occulto. Christus autem nihil in occulto locutus est quod⁴⁰ discipulis suis facere mandavit. Cum itaque privati sint septiformi gratia spiritus⁴¹ sancti quarum aliqua semper veri⁴² predicatores amplexi sunt, et in occulto predicent contra preceptum dei, manifestum est⁴³ quod a lleviathan tortuoso⁴⁴ serpente⁴⁵ missi sunt ad predicandum, et antichristi preambuli⁴⁶ contradicentes mandatis Christi, transfigurando⁴⁷ se in angelos lucis cum vere sunt angeli sathane item et ex hoc potest cognosci quod spiritu dyaboli ducuntur⁴⁸ et quod antichristi sunt, id est Christo contrarii. Ecce Christus locutus est ad turbas et ad discipulos suos dicens,

²⁸ B. omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem.

²⁹ S gratia.

³⁰ B *gloss* magum de quo legitur in actibus apostolum.

³¹ B *gloss* interemit.

³² B agnoscere.

³³ interpretatio linguarum not in B.

³⁴ B *gloss* id est paterini.

³⁵ not in B.

³⁶ B *adds* sunt.

³⁷ *non* not in S.

³⁸ B *gloss* vani idus i. divisus *****.

³⁹ B *gloss* neque occidere sicut petrus.

⁴⁰ B qui.

⁴¹ S spiritu.

⁴² S sancti.

⁴³ Not in S.

⁴⁴ B *gloss* valde torto.

⁴⁵ B *gloss* diabolo.

⁴⁶ B *gloss* precursores.

⁴⁷ S transfigurandos; B *gloss* transfigendo.

⁴⁸ S dicuntur.

Primum capitulum

Super^{iv} *cathedram*⁴⁹ *Moysi sederunt scribe*⁵⁰ *et pharisaei*.⁵¹ *Omnia quaecumque dixerint vobis servate et facite*,⁵² *secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere*. Docet quod non⁵³ debeamus despicere sacerdotes et contemnere traditionem ecclesie quam nobis ipsi ostendunt; quod enim dicunt nostrum est et pro nobis; quod vero faciunt illorum est et ad illos pertinet.⁵⁴ Doctrina illorum vivificat nos, vita vero illorum si mala est et corrupta eos mortificat et⁵⁵ nobis nichil nocet. Accipiamus quod nostrum est et dimittamus quod est alienum. Cum vadis ad iudicem si quod rectum est dixerit⁵⁶ malicia eius iudicium non pervertit. Sanctum et iustum est quod iudicavit. Licet enim ipse sit perversus, fornicator, homicida et sine deo iudicium eius non coinquinatur ab hiis.⁵⁷ Sic officium sacerdotis et potestatem mala eius conversatio non coinquinat, sed pseudo⁵⁸ apostolici, quos teter⁵⁹ expectat carcer propter maleficia sua,⁶⁰ affirmant sacerdotem si peccator est quod eius missa nihil valeat, officium eius inutile sit et potestas eius ligandi atque solvendi sicut persona invalida⁶¹ sit et corrupta, mencies pleni sathanico⁶² spiritu. Nempe sententiam eorum Christus destruit manifeste per Mattheum in evangelio, *multi*^v *inquit dicent mihi in illa die domine domine nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, et in nomine tuo demonia eiecimus, et in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus? Et tunc confitebor illis quod numquam novi vos, id est dilexi, discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem, quia plures in principio predicationis eiciebant demonia quamvis indigni essent, fugientibus demoniis propter nomen Iesu*. Nam gra-

⁴⁹ B *gloss* super cathedra sedes magistri tribunal sedes iudicis curulis consulum solium regis thronum dicitur.

⁵⁰ B *gloss* scriptores erant.

⁵¹ B *gloss* divisi a popularibus quia quasi religiosi sicut *****.

⁵² B *servate (bis)*.

⁵³ S nos.

⁵⁴ S pertinens.

⁵⁵ not in B.

⁵⁶ S dixeris.

⁵⁷ B inquinabit alios; B *gloss* fedabit.

⁵⁸ B *gloss* pseudo i. falsi.

⁵⁹ not in B.

⁶⁰ B malitiam suam.

⁶¹ B vana.

⁶² B *gloss* diabolico.

^{iv} Mt. 23.2.

^v Mt. 7.22.

tia sanctificatioque per indignos etiam prestabant⁶³ veluti per Iudam facientem miracula perque detestabiles filios Scevae. Hoc ab ecclesie primordio⁶⁴ inceptum est, quod usque in finem durabit, et enim sicut tunc per Iudam et similes in nomine Iesus pellebantur demonia sic et hodie ac usque in seclorum fines⁶⁵ etiam per malos sacerdotes in nomine Iesus Christi a penitentibus et a baptizandis fugantur demones, et populus ab illis sanctificatur qui iam a deo reprobati condempnatique sunt, sed quid ad hoc ministri sunt gratiarum sancti spiritus et propterea honorandi. datum per eos gratia et dominus aperit os eorum sicut et os asine balaam aperuit.

[Marginal mark—Indicates chapter 2]

Item⁶⁶ manifeste et aperte⁶⁷ contra Christum et ipsam veritatem dicunt iuramentum tollentes de ecclesia, non intelligentes quod salvator in evangelio precepit et Iacobus in epistula⁶⁸ magistrum suum imitando, qui numquam per deum iurare prohibent sed tamen per creaturas dicentes⁶⁹ *Nolite^{vi} iurare omnino neque per celum quia sedes dei est, neque per terram quia scabellum pedum,*⁷⁰ neque per aliam creaturam et hoc ideo ut ydolatria⁷¹ locum non habeat. Deificabant⁷² enim celum et terram et alias per quascumque iurabant creaturas. Deus solus per semet ipsum iurat qui nulli subiectus est. Nos autem qui non habemus potestatem nostrimet quomodo iurabimus per caput nostrum (alterius⁷³ enim est possessio);⁷⁴ si tuum est caput permuta si vales⁷⁵ secundum naturam unius capilli colorem.⁷⁶ Iuratio non est prohibenda nec tamquam bonum appetenda sponte absque⁷⁷ necessitate iurare

⁶³ B predicabatur.

⁶⁴ B *gloss* principio.

⁶⁵ S fides.

⁶⁶ B et item.

⁶⁷ S a parte.

⁶⁸ B sua.

⁶⁹ B dicitis, *gloss* scilicet vos paterini.

⁷⁰ B eius.

⁷¹ B *gloss* demonum cultum; B *gloss* idem grece divisus Latine latría ut cultura inde idolatria divisa culta quia plures non deos sed demones divisione colebant.

⁷² B *gloss* i. deos dicitur.

⁷³ B *gloss* alius.

⁷⁴ B *gloss* i. dei.

⁷⁵ B *gloss* fac ut naturaliter et semper sit.

⁷⁶ B *gloss* in capillo nigro color albus vel fuscus et ****.

⁷⁷ B ulla.

^{vi} Mt. 5.34–5.

aut falsum⁷⁸ iurare peccatum grande est. Ex⁷⁹ necessitate autem iurare, scilicet ad affirmandum nostram innocentiam⁸⁰ vel ad federa pacis confirmanda vel ad persuadendum⁸¹ auditoribus quod est eis utile, bonum est et necessarium. Ideo ecclesia sanctorum omnis⁸² grecorum et latinorum cui viri nefarii et scelerati⁸³ contradicunt, in quo solo digni sunt morte, tenet et predicat iuramentum faciendum esse in necessariis cum pigri sunt homines credere quod bonum et utile est. non est ergo⁸⁴ contra preceptum dei iuramentum sed ita intelligitur dominus et discipulus eius Iacobus prohibuisse a iuramento, ut quantum in ipso est quicumque non iuret, quod a malo est non iurantibus⁸⁵ sed a malo incredulitatis illius a quo iurare cogitur. * non tamen malum est quia necessarium est*.⁸⁶ Cupiditate vero iurare aut delectatione iurandi, quod multi faciunt in honore⁸⁷ habentes iuramentum tamquam magnum aut⁸⁸ suave aliquod, magnum peccatum est. Si malum esset iurare sicut perditissimi homines affirmant, nequaquam deus ipse iurasset; *per*^{vii} *memet ipsum*⁸⁹ *iuravi* dicit dominus⁹⁰ *quia fecisti rem hanc et non pepercisti filio tuo unigenito benedicam tibi et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas celi.* Et iuravit dominus et non penitebit eum. *Erat*^{viii} *Abraham senex dierum multorum et dominus in cunctis benedixit ei. Dixit ad servum seniore domus sue pone manum tuam subter femur meum,*⁹¹ *ut adiurem te per dominum deum*⁹² *celi et terre ut non accipias uxorem filio meo de filiabus chanaan.*⁹³ *Dominus deus celi qui tulit me de domo patris mei locutus est mihi et iuravit dicens semine tuo dabo terram hanc.* Posuit igitur servus manum sub

⁷⁸ B sponte.

⁷⁹ S et.

⁸⁰ B ad firmandum innocentiam.

⁸¹ S suadendum.

⁸² B omnium.

⁸³ B *gloss* id est heretici paterini.

⁸⁴ B enim.

⁸⁵ B *gloss* si non peccavit aliquis **iurare peccatum est cogentis non iurantis.

⁸⁶ *. . . * only in B.

⁸⁷ S ore.

⁸⁸ B atque.

⁸⁹ B inquit.

⁹⁰ B ad Abraham.

⁹¹ B *gloss* **** est iuxta coxam femur vero dicitur viri femur autem mulieris.

⁹² B deum.

⁹³ B *gloss* Cham fili noe fuit cui maledixit noe inde chanaan provincia fuit dicta.

^{vii} Gen. 22.16.

^{viii} Gen. 24.1–2, 7, 9.

*femore Abraam*⁹⁴ et iuravit ille super sermone hoc. Sed et ipse Abraam iuravit. Sic enim legitur; dixit^{ix} *Abymelech et Ochozath gener eius et Phycol princeps exercitus eius ad Abraam*, ‘Deus tecum est; igitur iura per dominum ne noceas mihi et posteris meis,’ et iuravit Abraam. Idcirco^x vocatus est locus ille *Bersabee quia ibi uterque iuravit*. Sed et Iacob⁹⁵ Laban socero suo iuravit similiter et Ioseph patri suo Iacob iuramento astringebatur. ‘Si inveni’, inquit ‘*gratiam in conspectu tuo, pone manum tuam sub femore meo ut non sepelias me in Egypto*’.⁹⁶ ‘Iura ergo’ inquit ‘mihi.’ Quo iurante adoravit Israel deum. Moyses quoque ille amicus dei iuravit Raguel sacerdoti Madian. Sic enim scriptum est. *Iuravit*^{xi} *Moyses quod habitaret cum eo*. Quid multa referam? Sine iuramento neque potuit neque potest mundus consistere. Periurare prohibemur nomen dei, sed causa necessitatis per nomen dei iurare neque in veteri neque in novo testamento prohibitum est. Ecce Iohannes evangelista si iurare peccatum esset non induceret angelum iurantem. Ait enim *angelus*^{xii} *quem vidi stantem super mare et super terram*⁹⁷ *levavit manum suam ad celum et iuravit per viventem in secla seculorum quod tempus amplius*⁹⁸ *non erit*. Apostolus novit preceptum domini et tamen iuravit, dicens *testis*^{xiii} *est mihi deus*, quod est dicere ‘per deum ita est’, quod maius est quam per evangelium iurare nam scripture propter deum sancta sunt,⁹⁹ non deus propter scripturas.¹⁰⁰ Ita et creature sancte sunt a deo. Verum tamen hodie per ecclesie constitutionem tactis evangelii iuramenta in necessariis causis fiunt. Per deum iurare, hoc est testem adhibere deum. Iurare est ius deo reddere veritatis et non falsitatis. Qui iuramentum in necessariis rebus de ecclesia tollit perpetuas inimicitias in ecclesiam dimittit¹⁰¹ et inter discordantes principes. Non habet aliud ecclesia capistrum quo illos ligare et in concordiam et unitatem

⁹⁴ B *gloss* quia de femore abrahe nasciturus erat christus.

⁹⁵ B si Iacob similiter.

⁹⁶ B Egyptum.

⁹⁷ B terram.

⁹⁸ B aliud.

⁹⁹ S sanctum est.

¹⁰⁰ S scriptura.

¹⁰¹ B et.

^{ix} Gen. 21.22.

^x Gen. 47.29.

^{xi} Ex. 2.21.

^{xii} Rev. 10.5–6.

^{xiii} Rom. 1.9.

reducere valeat. Qui iuramento omnino tollunt legem ecclesie quam habuit ab initio rumpunt quia per hoc solo, ut alia taceam, scelertissima illorum facinora tollendi et erumpendi¹⁰² sunt, ut *arbores autumnales* qui non faciunt bonum fructum *bis mortue eradicat* a veritate excidende et in ignem mittende, prudentes apud semet ipsos contra apostolicos preceptus,¹⁰³ *sydera*^{xiv} *errantia quibus procella tenebrarum conservata est in eternum.*

Tercius

Preterea Constantinus piissimus imperator Iustinianus et omnes christianissimi imperatores hanc legem promulgaverunt orbi universo fidelibus et infidelibus, inopia probationum¹⁰⁴ per ius iurandum lis deciditur,¹⁰⁵ interdum pro auctore, non numquam pro reo, et item iudex iuret cum omni veritate et legum observatione se iudicaturum in singulis sicut visum¹⁰⁶ fuerit iustum. Imperatoribus et maxime christianissimis credi debet, et qui non eis obtemperaverit sed contumaciter contradixerit capitis condemnetur. Maius autem his omnibus est decretum dei dicentis per Moysen in Exodo iuramentum¹⁰⁷ debere fieri.

Quartus

Ait enim¹⁰⁸ *si*^{xv} *quis commodaverit proximo suo asinum bovem ovem et omne iumentum ad custodiam*¹⁰⁹ *et mortuum fuisset aut debilitatum vel captum ab hostibus nullusque hoc viderit, iusiurandum erit*¹¹⁰ *in medio quod non extendit manum ad rem proximi sui suscipiet dominus iuramentum et illi reddere non cogetur.* Cum ergo deus ipse ac sancta dei ecclesia¹¹¹ Latinorum et Grecorum in necessariis causis iusiurandum a principio dederit, et sancti christianissimi imperatores hoc confirmant, Paterini iuramen-

¹⁰² S rumpendi.

¹⁰³ B apostolicum preceptum.

¹⁰⁴ B probatio.

¹⁰⁵ B deicitur et.

¹⁰⁶ B usum.

¹⁰⁷ B iuramenti.

¹⁰⁸ Not in S.

¹⁰⁹ B custodiendum.

¹¹⁰ B est.

¹¹¹ B ad sanctam ecclesiam.

^{xiv} Jude 12.

^{xv} Ex. 22.10–11.

tum omnino tollant; et cum Christus palam¹¹² iubeat¹¹³ predicari¹¹⁴ Paterini in occulto predicent contra mandatum¹¹⁵ Christi; et cum Christus precipiat servare omnia que sacerdotes ex eo quod sacerdotes sunt dicunt, idem iuramentum dent secundum sacerdotum dignitatem, Patherini autem dicant non debere servari et iusiurandum tollant, palam est quod pseudo apostoli sunt, eretici sunt, antichristi sunt, excommunicati sunt, a sancta ecclesia divisi et separati et nihil aliud restat nisi ut christianissimus autocrator Manuel¹¹⁶ devote interpelletur qui eos et sequaces eorum in caminum ignis mitti faciat¹¹⁷ ut hic ardere incipiant¹¹⁸ in igne gehenne perpetuo arsuri. Fiat fiat.¹¹⁹

Quintus¹²⁰

Quod si forte ad huc miserabiles et infatuati homines posita superiora testimonia dicant non esse recipienda eo quod de veteri lege sumpta sint hisque subiciuntur, os eorum loquentium opilabitur¹²¹ et obturabitur et primum quidem dicendum est ad eos quod vetus testamentum nove legis fundamentum¹²² est, et qui vetus respuit novo male consentit: nam ut *lapis*^{xvi} *abscisus de monte sine manibus*, Christus scilicet,¹²³ de patriarchis et prophetis absque coetu natus est, sic et novum eius testamentum de veteri pendet ab ipso derivatum. Hoc enim Matheus significat¹²⁴ dicens *liber*^{xvii} *generationis*¹²⁵ *filii David filii Abrahæ* et cetera; hoc idem Lucas affirmat cum dicit¹²⁶ *et*^{xviii} *ipse Iesus*

¹¹² B *gloss* i. aperte.

¹¹³ B *gloss* i. comanda.

¹¹⁴ S presentari.

¹¹⁵ B preceptum.

¹¹⁶ B christianissimi imperatores devote interpellentur et eos et sequaces eorum in caminum ignis mitti.

¹¹⁷ B faciant.

¹¹⁸ B qui in igne gehenne perpetuo arsuri sunt.

¹¹⁹ Not in B.

¹²⁰ B cap III.

¹²¹ B opitulabitur.

¹²² B fundatum.

¹²³ B Christe videlicet.

¹²⁴ B sic incipit.

¹²⁵ B *gloss* Iesus Christi.

¹²⁶ B dicens.

^{xvi} Dan. 2.34.

^{xvii} Mt. 1.1.

^{xviii} Lk. 3.23.

erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta, ut putabatur filius Ioseph qui fuit Hely qui fuit Matham qui fuit Levi et que secuntur; Marcus quoque testimonium perhibet circa principium evangelii sui denuntiando *ecce*^{xix} *mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui preparabit viam tuam*; sed et Iohannes ab hiis nequaquam dissentit ait enim *lex*^{xx} *per Moysen data est*^{xxi} *gratia et veritas per Iesus Christum facta est*. Quam ob rem salvator noster in confutando dyabolum veteris testimonia legis pronuntiavit, hec scilicet ‘*Non*^{xxii} *in pane solo vivit homo sed in omni verbo que procedit de ore dei*’ et iterum ‘*Non temptabis dominum deum tuum*’. Et rursum ‘*Dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies*.’ Et in aliis quam pluribus evangeliorum locis facit similia. Petrus quoque apostolus per Sarram mulieres¹²⁷ ad castam conversationem invitat, precipiendo ‘*mulieres*^{xxiii} *funt*¹²⁸ *subdite propriis viris sicut Sarra obediebat Abrahae, dominum eum vocans, cuius estis filie beneficientes et non timentes ullam perturbationem*’. et Iudas apostolus* eadem fatetur ‘*qui*^{xxiv} *in via*’ inquit ‘*Caym abierunt et errore Balaam mercede effusi sunt et in contradicione Chore perierunt*.’¹²⁹ Amplius Iacobus apostolus* exemplis veteris testamenti exultat et dicit¹³⁰ ‘*Credidit*^{xxv} *abraam deo et reputatus est ei ad iusticiam et amicus dei appellatus est*’ eodemque modo et *Raab*^{xxvi} *meretricem* in exemplum¹³¹ ponit. Audiendus vero est Paulus, vas electionis, doctor gentium, quid de veteri lege sentiat. Inquit¹³² enim ‘*lex*^{xxvii} *quidem sancta et mandatum sanctum et iustum et bonum*.’ Ideoque ‘*condelector*^{xxviii} *legi dei secundum interiorem hominem*’ in quo patenter Manicheos¹³³ Paterenos et omnes qui veterem legem accusant confutat. Propterea¹³⁴ sacra et universalis

¹²⁷ S mulierem.

¹²⁸ B estote.

¹²⁹ B omits passage between asterisks.

¹³⁰ B dicens.

¹³¹ B exemplis.

¹³² S incipit.

¹³³ B adds simonicos.

¹³⁴ B preparata.

^{xix} Mk. 1.2.

^{xx} Jn. 1.17.

^{xxi} Mt. 4.4 = Dt. 8.3.

^{xxii} Mt. 4.10 = Dt. 6.16.

^{xxiii} 1 Peter 3.1, 6.

^{xxiv} Jude 11.

^{xxv} James 2.23.

^{xxvi} James 2.25.

^{xxvii} Rom. 7.12.

^{xxviii} Rom. 7.22.

quarta synodus omnes talia presumentes anathemizatz, et merito. Scriptum est enim quasi peccatum ariolandi est repugnare traditioni quem tenet ecclesia et quasi scelus ydolatrie nolle illi acquiescere, et quum abiecerunt dicti Pathereni sanctarum ecclesiarum dei Latine et Grece traditionem abiecit dominus de regno suo ut symulatores et ypocritas.

Sextus¹³⁵

Non enim in superdictis tantum eorum perfidia patet, verum in misterio dominici corporis¹³⁶ qui asserunt etiam post benedictionem panem remanere¹³⁷ ut prius fuerat*¹³⁸ sed in sacramento coniugii pessima oppinione nacti sunt, dicentes omnem coniugium debere fieri repudium. In veneratione quoque ac cultu sacrarum ymaginum quos dicunt esse simulacra surda et muta omnino aberraverunt quorum omnium rei sunt in contra dei, sicut ceterorum quod possunt animadvertere si volunt ex hiis qui supponuntur.

Septimus

Et coniugii quidem sacramentum pluribus modis eos condemnat. Nam sublati nuptiis non inveniatur flos virginitatis hinc enim et non alium devirgineus flos colligitur. Ideo legitimum coniugium omne terrenum honorem precellere putatur quia radix est virginitatis benedictione, mundi crescentis consolator. Generis conditor humanitatis, pictor divine ymaginum Domini enim benedicente presidet qui incarnari postulavit, ut presens dicitur cum fiducia *'Ecce^{xxix} ego et pueri quos dedit mihi deus'*. Coniugii auctor deus est; ipse enim decrevit quod mulierem ad propagationem generis humani homini in adiutorium fecit, cuius usum Adam in spiritu cognoscens dixit *'Hoc^{xxx} est os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea, quamobrem reliquet homo patrem et matrem et adhaerebit uxori suo et erunt duo in carne una.'* Si absque peccato non posset sic concubitus coniugalibus non precepisset dominus post diluvium eos copulari, dicens *'Crescite^{xxxi} et multiplicamini,'* cum iam sine

¹³⁵ B Cap III.

¹³⁶ B et sanguinis.

¹³⁷ B permanere.

¹³⁸ Passage between *. . * (p. 166) not in B.

^{xxix} Heb. 2.13.

^{xxx} Gen. 2.23.

^{xxxi} Gen. 9.16.

caruali concupiscentia non possent permisceri. Sed apostolus Paulus ab omni peccato defendit dicens ‘*Si^{xxxii} nupserit virgo non peccat*’ et ‘*vir uxori debitum reddat et uxor viro.*’ Si legitimus concubitus peccatum esset nequaquam Christus in Chana Galylee corporali presencia et exhibitione miraculi nuptias consecrasset, nec in evangelio dixisset ‘*Omnes^{xxxiii} qui dimiserit uxorem suam, excepta fornicatione causa, facit eam mechari, et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat.*’ Unus^{xxxiv} discipulus respondit ‘*Si ita est causa hominis cum uxore non expedit nubere.*’ Qui dixit ‘*Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc sed quibus datum est. Sunt eunuchi qui de matris utero signati sunt, et sunt eunuchi qui facti sunt a hominibus et sunt eunuchi qui se ipso castraverunt propter regnum celi. Qui potest capere capiat.*’ Ecce neminem cogit in virginitate permanere nec bonum dissolvit nuptiarum, magis autem utrum instruit ne deserat uxorem nisi adulteram. Quare manifestum coniugium a deo esse bonum esse et a veteri et a novo testamento comprobatum esse, et hereticos et seductores esse qui tantum bonum de medio exterminare nituntur.

Octavus

Sed et sacramenti dominici corporis et sanguinis viri sceleratissimi reprobant* in quo non vinum solum nec aquam solum offerri debet sed utrumque permixtum, quia uterque ex eius latere profluxit. Hoc sacramentum invisibilis sacerdos in substantiam¹³⁹ corporis¹⁴⁰ et sanguinis sua secreta potestate convertit, ita dicens ‘*Accipite et comedite; hoc^{xxxv} est corpus meum*’ et sanctificatione repetita ‘*Accipite et bibite; hic est sanguis meus.*’ Que verba cum proferuntur absque ambiguitate¹⁴¹ mutant panem in carnem et vinum in sanguinem. Reliqua vero *ad laudem dei dicuntur, propterea ipse dicit ‘*Caro meus^{xxxvi} vere est cybus¹⁴² et sanguis meus vere est potus*’, sed monet te, o Paterene, hoc miraculum, et dicis ‘*Quo modo verus sanguis, quo vera caro? Non video similitudines carnis non video similitudinem sanguinis ut intueor.*’

¹³⁹ B substantia.

¹⁴⁰ Not in S.

¹⁴¹ B gloss i. sine dubio.

¹⁴² Passage between *. . *. not in B.

^{xxxii} 1 Cor. 7.28,3.

^{xxxiii} Mt. 5.32.

^{xxxiv} Mt. 19.10–12.

^{xxxv} Mk. 14.22,24.

^{xxxvi} Jn. 6.55.

Non credis Christo dicenti ‘*Hoc^{xxxvii} est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*’ et ‘*Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis vitam in vobis*’? Sermo Christi operatur; sermo Christi mutatur instituta nature. Quid miraris si ad verbum salvatoris panis caro fit et vinum sanguis, cum ad incantatoris vocem anguis interdum rumpatur vel educatur de cavernis? Ideo aspis obturat aurem suam *ut leniter ne audiet vocem*¹⁴³ venefici sapientis incantantis. Si serpentem capit¹⁴⁴ incantatio et panem atque vinum potest mutare benedictio. Stulte in ventre tuo, te non vidente, panis vertit in carnem et vinum in sanguinem. Maior est vis benedictionis quam nature, et tamen natura que sub undis est mollis herba in lapidem facit durescere qui nuncupatur corallium posteaque auras contigit. Virgam tenebat Moyses, proiecit eam et facta est serpens. Rursus apprehendit serpentis caudam et in virge naturam rediit. Ad vocem Moysi mutata est natura serpentis et virge. Purus erat aquarum meatus Nili et subito de fontium venis sanguis cepit erumpere; rursus ad preces Moysi cruor cessavit et aquarum natura remeavit. Item virgam levavit Moyses et cessit Rubri Maris aqua et inter undas¹⁴⁵ via pedestris apparuit. Iordanis contra naturam retro conversus est et in Mara¹⁴⁶ ligni¹⁴⁷ contacta dulcem praebeuit aquam que fuerat amarissima populo siti-enti. Sermo Helye ignem de celo deposuit; et Christi sermo panem in aliam substantiam¹⁴⁸ mutare non potest, qui omnia fecit ex nihilo? Quem oculis carnis non cernis factam mutationem mens tua veritatem refutat, sed dic, numquid ignis panem et reliqua que manducantur coquit cybaria? Hic utique inviolatus et incorruptus cybos ingrediendo eos permutat, idem mutatione perfecta consumataque coctione nisi preveniatur inviolatus et incorruptus egreditur. Verum in egressu¹⁴⁹ aer quidem velut fumus apparet tenuissimus,¹⁵⁰ in veritate autem purissimus ignis existit, quem calorem dicunt. Nam aliud

¹⁴³ Passage between *. . . * not in S.

¹⁴⁴ S rumpit.

¹⁴⁵ S intus.

¹⁴⁶ ara S and B.

¹⁴⁷ S ligno.

¹⁴⁸ B alia substantia.

¹⁴⁹ S gressu.

¹⁵⁰ S remissus.

^{xxxvii} Mk. 14.22, 24; Jn. 6.54.

est in substantia et aliud in specie. Ignea procul dubio essentia est, quam arbitraris propter colorem¹⁵¹ solum aeream, quamvis certissime¹⁵² vertatur in aera. Sic utique caro est quem male propter colorem astruis panem esse. Non est querendus ordo in Christi corpore¹⁵³ quia praeter nature cursus virgo concepit et perperit. Crede igitur dicenti '*Hoc est corpus meum*', quod certe non minus a malo et magis a bono sacerdote consecratur, cum non in merito consecrantis sed in verbo efficiatur salvatoris et in virtute spiritus sancti. Audi Pathereni quid actum sit Constantinopoli¹⁵⁴ et credito id quod ecclesia dei catholica colit et veneratur.

Nonus

Temporibus imperatoris Arcadii¹⁵⁵ cum Iohannes Chrisostomus Constantinopolitanam regeret ecclesiam¹⁵⁶ vir quidam cum sua coniuge de secta heretici Macedonii ad illum accessit et audita illius doctrina stare mandatis eius pollicitus est. Id idem uxore convenienti hoc est concedenti.¹⁵⁷ Instante igitur pascha communicavit; idem mulier promisit facere. Venit autem in ecclesia cum pedisseca secum ferens communionem a Macedonio; hanc pedissecae tradidit. De manibus episcopi communionem suscepta¹⁵⁸ rursus cum quadam symulatione quam pedissecae dederat resumpsit et quam de manibus episcopi acceperat apud puellam deposuit. Sed Macedonii communio mox ut mulieris os contigit versa est in lapide.¹⁵⁹ Quod cum manifestum factum fuisset conterrita¹⁶⁰ mulier procedit ad pedes episcopi cum lacrimis postulans veniam et confitens quid ausa fuerat. Lapis autem in secretario positus¹⁶¹ fuit. Sed et illud preterire¹⁶² nolo quod sceptrum sustinenda imperatore Iustino Constantinopoli similiter gestum est in eadem urbe.

¹⁵¹ B calorem.

¹⁵² S. quam vis citissime.

¹⁵³ S. corporis.

¹⁵⁴ B Constantinopolim.

¹⁵⁵ S. eraclii.

¹⁵⁶ S. cathedram.

¹⁵⁷ S. conviventi.

¹⁵⁸ S. communionem susceptam.

¹⁵⁹ S. ut lapidem.

¹⁶⁰ B conscripta.

¹⁶¹ B repositus.

¹⁶² B *illegible gloss*****.

Decimus

*Iudeus quidam erat*¹⁶³ vitrifex, unicum habens filium quem secus magnam ecclesiam discendis litteris tradiderat. Quadam die cum sacrorum custos vasorum sacre mense que superaverant plures reliquias haberet, convocavit qui erudiebantur pueros ut eius modi fragmenta manderent. Quibuscum adfuit comeditque iudeus puer. Is ubi domum rediit interrogatusque a patre cur tanta mora detentus fuisset respondit ‘Cum pueris christianorum magnam ecclesiam intravi et altaris quem ipsi mensam vocant reliquias manducavi cum aliis, et hec fuit mora que me tenuit.’ Calamitosus vero pater ut seva belua insaniens aput se verbum servavit, et facto prandio ad locum ubi vitrum conflabatur cum filium duxisset in ardentem caminum iactavit clausaque ianua discessit. Uxor vere eius cognoscens mariti furorem in puerum ad conflatorium cucurrit cum festinatione, et inclinans se pro ianue foramen pueri vocem intus in camino existentis audivit. Fracta continuo ianua introit filiumque suum de camino traxit illesum; sciscitanti¹⁶⁴ autem a puero matre quis eum in ignem iactavit et quo modo eum flamma non combusserit reddidit huiusmodi verba, ‘Pater’ inquit¹⁶⁵ ‘me in caminum proiecit. Mulier vero venerabilis amicta purpura extinxit flammam. “Ne timeas inquiens puer.”’ Quo audito mater stupefacta est, et mox ad patriarcham, Minam nomine, properavit cum filio. Seriatim quod gestum fuerat narravit peciitque ab eo catholicam ecclesie fidem. Ipse vero patriarcha utrumque, matrem scilicet et filium, statuit coram imperatoriam maiestatem. Augustus autem¹⁶⁶ iussit ut pueri genitor adduceretur. Qui ut venit¹⁶⁷ coram plurimo sermone a principe clementissimo persuadebatur ampliusque alliciebatur sermonibus muneribusque¹⁶⁸ ut cum uxore et filio Christianus fieret, sed non acquievit. Propterea iussit eum ut proprii filii occisorem iudicio imperialis censura suspendi. Uxor autem sanctionialis effecta est et filius in magna ecclesia lector constitutus.

¹⁶³ * . . * not in B.

¹⁶⁴ B adds i.e. interroganti.

¹⁶⁵ S quidem.

¹⁶⁶ B vero.

¹⁶⁷ B cum venisset.

¹⁶⁸ not in B.

Undecimus

De imaginum¹⁶⁹ vero adoratione cultu et obsequio auctoritatem habemus quae omnem Paterenorum superat impietatem. Propterea omitto dicere miracula quae per¹⁷⁰ sacras ymagines sedulo deus operatur nam a perfidis sacre ymagines aliquando percusse sanguinem ex se funderent; quedam fures prohibuerunt a rapina; aliquarum contactu egris salus reddita est et a demoniis plures liberati sunt. Sed admonendus es o Patherene qui hec omnia inficiaris quod Christianorum chorus non in eo quod colorem habent et corpulentam materiam imagines adorant, neque in eo quod non audiunt non vident¹⁷¹ non locuntur neque odorant¹⁷² hoc in ydolatre faciunt. Hoc modo Isrehelite vitulum adoraverunt, sed in eo quod significare habent per insignitam¹⁷³ figuram cultum et reverentiam illis exhibemus. In hunc certe tenorem altare calicem et evangeliorum libros honoramus et veneramus, non¹⁷⁴ quod edulinas sive arietinas pelles habeant atramento insignitas sed quod sermones et sententias a Christo prolatas nostri menti per multum¹⁷⁵ porrigant. Audi ergo quod negare nequaquam potes quare fidelium devotio ymagines colat et a sompno exurgens nobiscum humanam¹⁷⁶ redemptoris nostri figuram atque sanctorum eius honora et reverere. Mulier quae a fluxu sanguinis apud Lucham liberatur¹⁷⁷ contactu fymbriae vestimenti salvatoris in tanti beneficii memoriam spei muliebris ex ere figuram flexis genibus extendentem¹⁷⁸ manus in anteriora similem precanti erexit ante suam porticum domus. Ex opposito autem loco in eminentiori de materia eadem salvatoris figuram rectam¹⁷⁹ disploide decenter¹⁸⁰ indutam manumque mulieri porrigentem statuit. Ad huius pedes peregrina herba¹⁸¹ quedam semper nata est ad fymbriam usque crescens enee disploidis et intertemporia¹⁸² passionis cuius libet. Perstitit autem illa

¹⁶⁹ S ymagine.

¹⁷⁰ B quem per quas.

¹⁷¹ B et.

¹⁷² S adorant.

¹⁷³ B significatam.

¹⁷⁴ not in B.

¹⁷⁵ B vultum.

¹⁷⁶ not in B.

¹⁷⁷ B adds ex.

¹⁷⁸ B extendente.

¹⁷⁹ B tectam.

¹⁸⁰ not in B.

¹⁸¹ B peregrine herbe quedam species.

¹⁸² B temptoria.

corporis Christi mensura et herbe nate vigor apud Caesaream Philippi usque ad tempus Maximini¹⁸³ imperatoris. Hic fuit inimicus Christiane religionis, superstitiosus et idolatra, cumque per regiones illas iter faceret, audito quod per ymaginem illam nomen Christi vigeret nominati salvatoris ymaginem confringi precepit. Et continuo disparuit herba. Sed aliud et adhuc mirabilium dico orbi notissimum. Eodem fere tempus princeps Edessenorum nomine Abgarus gravissimis langoribus detinebatur, articulorum scilicet contractione inflexibili et nigre vulneribus lepre; ideoque crebro auditu miracula Christi cognoscens per nuncios suos multociens ad se Christum venire rogaverat, principatus sui dominium¹⁸⁴ aut munera tanto digna labore promittens. Igitur Iesus circa tempus sue passionis cum in oratione pernoctaret, quando sudor eius, ut Luchas scribit, factus est sicut *gutte*^{xxxviii} *sanguinis* in terram cadens, a quodam discipulorum suorum¹⁸⁵ gausape quesivit. Quocum abstersa facie, o ineffabilis dispensatio perfecte salvatoris Christi, effigiem gausape impressam¹⁸⁶ super servavit, quod quidem tradidit apostolo Thome precipiens ei ut post ascensionem suam principi Abgaro illud per Taddeum¹⁸⁷ mitteretur. Abgarus ergo legatum et munus cum magno voto et ingenti affectione suscipiens, in Christo contactu¹⁸⁸ desubito ab omni qua cruciabatur infirmitate liberatus est, et quod stupentius fuit non est tacendum. Nam dicta gausapis ymago laterem quendam insignivit¹⁸⁹ cum universis vultus Christi lineamentis quod qualiter gestum sit paucis explico. Statunculus deorum cuiusdam¹⁹⁰ qui a gentibus colebatur positus fuerat insuper liminari porte illius civitatis, quod omnes intrantes Edessam tamquam deum adorabant. Is iussu principis Abgari exterminatus est;* locum eius reverenda ymago salvatoris subiit^{*191} cui ampliorem honorem et cultum ab introeuntibus in civitatem precepit exhiberi quam exterminato illi. Post vero multum temporis surrexit quidam ipsius

¹⁸³ B maximiniani.

¹⁸⁴ S donum.

¹⁸⁵ not in S.

¹⁸⁶ B adds ipsissimam.

¹⁸⁷ B matthaum mitteret.

¹⁸⁸ B ipso sancto tactu.

¹⁸⁹ B quodam insignitum.

¹⁹⁰ not in B.

¹⁹¹ *. . * not in B.

^{xxxviii} Lk. 22.44.

civitatis¹⁹² princeps persecutor¹⁹³ Christiane religionis et sacrarum incensor¹⁹⁴ figurarum, qui sacratissimo superius nominato acharacteri¹⁹⁵ incendio cominatus est, sed frustra. nam episcopus civitatis festinanter diligentiam adhibendo noctu surrexit cum apparatu qui exigebat negocium et quum locus emisphericus¹⁹⁶ erupisset figuram implebat coram ymagine olei plenam lampadam suspendit chorusca splendore¹⁹⁷ luminis et reliquis partibus¹⁹⁸ obstructis salvatoris velavit faciem latericio quadam¹⁹⁹ tegimento deforis autem totam semi circuli superficiem²⁰⁰ adequatam cementicia coloravit²⁰¹ albedine. Dilapsis vero quam plurimis annorum curriculis omnium horum memoriam vetustas adoleverat, ad eo quod sancti vultus descriptio ubi esset abscondita penitus ignoraretur. Cum autem Perse contre Edessenos movissent bellum, civitatem eam²⁰² daturi excidio, antistiti Edesse urbis cui nomen Eulalius erat in sompnis mulier reverendi habitus apparuit, hortans idem illum accipere ymaginem salvatoris, indicavitque ei²⁰³ locum ubi latebat, cumque illa lustrari totam civitatem et hoc modo excidium amoveri posse. Expergefactus²⁰⁴ igitur episcopus, omnia que visa mulier iniunxerat exequi cupiens, ad locum prope-
ravit indicatum. Reperit sacratissimam effigiem, lampadem accensam in tanto seclorum spatio nullum extincionis habentem vestigium; in latericio autem qui custodie causa positus fuerat tegimento vultus nostri salvatoris figuratus ut est²⁰⁵ in sancto mantili expresse re-
pertus est. Que omnia dictus suscipiens pontifex ambivit civitatem ut iussus fuerat et ubi de oleo invente lampadis effudit in Persas simul omnes vertit in fugam, et civitas illaesa remansit. Habuerunt ergo²⁰⁶ Edesseni sacras ymages ut inviolatum thesaurum, ut inexhaustas divitias, ut aversionem malorum, ut gravaminum levamen, ut con-

¹⁹² not in S.

¹⁹³ not in B.

¹⁹⁴ B interemptor.

¹⁹⁵ B characteri.

¹⁹⁶ S eruspevii.

¹⁹⁷ S chorusca splendore.

¹⁹⁸ not in B.

¹⁹⁹ S quondam.

²⁰⁰ B deforis autem semicirculis superficiem.

²⁰¹ B collocavit.

²⁰² S illorum.

²⁰³ not in S.

²⁰⁴ S experrectus.

²⁰⁵ not in B.

²⁰⁶ Not in S.

tra imminencia²⁰⁷ praesidium et contra pericula invictum propugnaculum. Demum vero cum acceptum conditori omnium extitit illarum ymaginum magnificentiam orbi universo notissimam fieri debere, movit cor imperatoris Romanorum ad dirigendum²⁰⁸ Edessenis cum magnificis donationibus legatos qui omnibus impetratis²⁰⁹ quod postulaverunt²¹⁰ cum pontifice Samosatensi Abranno multosciens superius nominatos sacros characteres attulerunt Constantinopoli, scilicet Blachernas Augusti mensis currente decima quinta. Sexta decima vero die mensis eiusdem imperator, patriarcha, universus clerus et tota civitas cum lampadis accensis hymnis et canticis spiritualibus, cum honore amplissimo et spectabili reverentia sanctissimas figuras portantes, in quarum presencia egrorum multitudo salutem consecuta est, ad magnum palacium pervenerunt; ibique posite sub honore ac cultu dignissimo²¹¹ usque in hodiernum servantur.²¹² Agunt²¹³ autem per singulos annos diem festum Constantinopolitani cives Augusti sexta decima credentes propter magnificam redemptoris effigiem a pestilentia fame ac hostili possessione liberari et urbem per cuncta servari secula inexpugnabilem.

Duodecimus

De honore atque reverentia vivifice²¹⁴ crucis exhibenda,²¹⁵ et quod eius figura credentium frontes muniende sunt frequenter disserere supervacaneum est, tum quidem ex antea dictis manifestum sit²¹⁶ tumque ex serie veteris novique testamenti apertissime hoc intelligatur. Ac forsitan Patherenus dicit ut Manicheus si asine non exhibetur reverentia, eo quod Christus super asinam sederit, neque dandus cruci honor ex eo quod idem Christus in ea confixus²¹⁷ fuerit; et rursum sicut neque typo lanceae vel calami, aut spine, vel clavi, seu spongie, quamquam et hec sancta sunt, vultus signantur credencium, sic et cruci figura signari superstitiosum est. Audi et horum Patherene

²⁰⁷ S interimencia.

²⁰⁸ B romanii ad dirigendos.

²⁰⁹ B impetratis.

²¹⁰ S postulaverat.

²¹¹ B de culto.

²¹² B servatur.

²¹³ B Augustus.

²¹⁴ S vivice.

²¹⁵ S exhibendis.

²¹⁶ B fit.

²¹⁷ B passus et crucifixus.

solutionem, cui etiam et clarissimus frater meus Leo Tuscus imperialium epistularum optimus interpret prebet assensionem.²¹⁸ Non in asina sed in cruce Christus salutem mundi operatus est, vicit dyabolum et eius principatum evacuavit. Qua de causa demones quidem asinam non tremunt,²¹⁹ crucis vero semper fugiunt presenciam. Ideo nequaquam asine sed cruci contio fidelium honorem ei debitum exhibet. Crucem significabat virga Moysi, per quem mundus hic vincitur, et princeps huius mundi cum principibus et potestatibus triumphatur. Ipsa enim projecta in terram versa est in serpentem,²²⁰ id in sapientiam,²²¹ nam post quam ad credulitatem et fidem hominum venit crux omnem egyptianorum, id est huius mundi, sapientiam devoravit. *Stulta^{xxxix} certa facta est sapientia huius mundi postquam Christus crucifixus apparuit esse dei virtus et dei sapientia.* Signum autem crucis, non calami, non spine, non clavi, non spongie neque lancee frontibus fidelium imprimitur, quia *cruci* ut Paulus dicit et nulli antea nominatorum *cyrographum^{xl} decreti²²² que erat nobis²²³ contrarium affixit Christus.* Quod ad Adam deus dixit '*In^{xli} quacumque die comederis morte morieris*'; hoc tenebat dyabolus et in hoc nobis adversabatur eratque contrarius. Hoc Christus tulit de medio affigens illud non calamo, non lancee, non ceteris sed cruci; nam cum innocens occiditur peccatum crucifigitur et cyrographum deletur. Quam ob rem signo crucis et non ceterorum munimur et signamur, ut affixi in ea cyrographum semper memores.²²⁴ In antiqua deinceps non redeamus prescriptionem. Crux autem in fronte ubi est verecundie sedes infigitur ut semper in ea cum Paulo gloriemur, dicente '*mihi^{xlii} autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi.*' omnium fidelium gloriatio crux esse debet, quum dilectionem quem erga nos Christus habet in ipsa monstravit. Servo autem quem maius gaudium quam cum domini sui amorem

²¹⁸ B assensum.

²¹⁹ B timent.

²²⁰ B serpente.

²²¹ B sapientia.

²²² S et decretum.

²²³ S vobis.

²²⁴ B et in.

^{xxxix} 1 Cor. 1.20,23.

^{xl} Col. 2.14.

^{xli} Gen. 2.17.

^{xlii} Gal. 6.14.

tenus se cognoscit? Alii autem dicunt crucem ex duobus coniungi que divisa in fidelibus nos lignorum obsequium accusantibus tamquam ligna ostendi possunt dissoluta crucis²²⁵ figura; quibus constanter nunciandum est quod non ligna sed crucis figuram plebs fidelium colat et veneratur. In calamo autem et spongia et ceteris nichil talium monstrari possibile; quare conveniente crucis et nullius iam dictorum signo vultus nostros insidias demonum caventes signamus. Hoc certe illud est quod Iohannes in Apocalipsi roboat²²⁶ cum dicit ‘*ecce*^{xliii} *ego Iohannes vidi alterum angelum ascendentem ob ortu solis habentem signum dei vivi,*’ id est signum vivifice crucis quo signo servi dei nostri suis frontibus signantur usque in terribilem et amaram diem extremi iudicii. Ceterum cur quero apostolos cum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum inveniam hoc precipientem. Scribit enim Luchas quod ascensurus in celum redemptor noster ‘*adduxit*^{xliv} *discipulos foras in Bethaniam et elevatis manibus suis benedixit eis et factum est dum benediceret recessit ab eis et ferebatur in celum*’ benedixit discipulis virtutem ad custodiam illis tribuens usque ad spem adventus,²²⁷ in quo facto evidenter docuit salvator ut benedicionibus sacerdotes et prelati magis autem cum disceditur subditos²²⁸ elevatis manibus in crucis figura²²⁹ consignent et muniant. Ideo utique sancta dei ecclesia Latinorum et Grecorum talem benedicensi typum usque in hodiernum custodit quo circa quisque christianus diebus ac noctibus ut non cadat²³⁰ de cetu fidelium adversus²³¹ Leviathan eius modi signo, per quod levita Laurentinus cecos illuminavit constanter se defendit, verum o Patherene erinidos²³² infernales furie pabulum, nisi deffendaris nominato signo²³³ si ergo²³⁴ superius deceptatis inviolatam fidem adhibens lypidis de fluvio lapidibus vulneratus in fronte in averni fundum precipitaveris. nempe monstratum tibi est malis sacerdotibus fore hobediendum salvatoris

²²⁵ B eius.

²²⁶ B adds id est reboat.

²²⁷ B presens adventum.

²²⁸ B subito.

²²⁹ S figuram.

²³⁰ S ludat.

²³¹ S adversarius.

²³² B eris nidos.

²³³ not in B.

²³⁴ not in S.

^{xliii} Rev. 7.2.

^{xliv} Lk. 24.50–1.

auctoritate, iubentis omnia quecumque dixerint vobis servate et facite secundum vero opera eorum nolite facere; rursus intelligere potes reiecta cordis duricia quod si iurare omnino inhibitum fuisset, sancta dei per orbem ecclesia et piissimi imperatores litem aliquando²³⁵ per iusiurandum decidi non permetterent; sed neque si uxorem ducere²³⁶ secundum pravem tuam opinionem non liceret²³⁷ Christus in nuptiis fuisset conviva et aquam fecisset bonum vinum. Quid de cetero dubitas? Panem in altari caro et vinum fit sanguis ut testatur in cuius ore dolus inventus non est. *'Caro meus'* inquit *'vere est cybus et sanguis meus vere est potus'*. Prohibe igitur linguam tuam impudenter ab eorum inficiationibus²³⁸ et a calumnia sanctarum ymaginarum, nam si peccatum esset cultum et honorem vivifice cruci ac sacris ymaginibus exhibere nequaquam Christus sui vultus figuram mundo in pictura dimississet, neque ecclesia celebraret ea que non prorsus in ope aut contracta fecunditate in hoc opusculo digesta sunt, ut industrii viri evidentes habeant²³⁹ auctoritates quibus intelligentissimo imperatori Manuel innixi persuadeant facillime que nigra theta perditissime hominum secte frontibus infigi iubeat.²⁴⁰

Adversus patherenos hugonis eteriani libellus explicit

²³⁵ B aliquem.

²³⁶ B—, S duceret.

²³⁷ not in S.

²³⁸ B eos significationibus.

²³⁹ B digeste auctoritates quibus industrie viri.

²⁴⁰ B debeat.

CONTRA PATARENOS

Translated by Janet Hamilton

For some time past I have been asked by certain men of rank and influence, whose intelligence is active and whose wide-ranging experience knows no bounds, whether they ought [to allow] the imperial enactment to become ineffective by means of which it should punish the wicked sect of the Patarenes and root them out, not merely from the parts around the Hellespont but also from the entire world. I reply it is clear that they deserve the most severe punishment, hanging and the fire, as being teachers of error, misleaders who lead men astray, hypocrites, deceivers who turn people away from the Christian faith. The apostle John in his epistle says *'If anyone comes to you and does not bring this doctrine of Christ do not receive him into the house or give him any greeting for he who greets him shares his wicked work'* but the men of whom we are speaking now have rejected the teachings of the church, which is Christ's teaching. Christ's words are his commands and his precept, that is, *'What I tell you in the darkness utter in the light, and what ye hear whispered proclaim upon the housetops.'* That is, what I have said to you alone and in one place, that is in darkness and in your ear, preach in the squares publicly and openly, but evil men who are full of cunning avoid the light and preach secretly in corners and so do not observe the teaching and commandments and precepts of Christ. Moreover it is a precept of God that none should preach (as these wretches preach) unless they are sent by God, while they have been sent by Satan. This is clear because they do not have any grace of the Holy Spirit. The apostle Paul says that *'to each preacher is given the manifestation of the spirit for the common good,'* (that is, grace through which is revealed what holy spirit is in him), *'To one, that is, is given through the holy spirit an utterance of wisdom'* (as to John, Paul, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory and many others), *'to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same spirit'* so that he may teach anyone he likes clearly and answer their individual questions, *'to another faith by the same spirit'* so that he can perform signs (and they do none) and move mountains, that is demons, *'to another gifts of healings by the one spirit'* so that he can heal all weaknesses and infirmities, *'to another the working of*

miracles' so that he can punish unbelievers as Paul blinded Elymas and Peter killed Ananias, '*to another prophecy and to another the ability to distinguish between spirits*' so that he may know how to recognise who is a spiritual man and who is a carnal one, who is a prophet and who is a deceiver, '*to another various kinds of tongues and to another the interpretation of tongues*'. But the aforesaid most wretched preachers have no knowledge of tongues or the interpretation of tongues, they are not prophets but deceivers, secret thieves and robbers, carnal men, with no perception of the things of God. They are fools and ignorant, they can do no more harm than other men since they cannot blind anyone as Paul blinded Elymas, nor kill as Peter killed Ananias by word alone. Let them say themselves if they can drive out fevers or cure lepers or remove physical weakness. They can do no such things at all. They do not dare teach anyone openly, only in secret. But Christ said nothing in secret and commanded his disciples to do this. So therefore since they are without the seven-fold graces of the Holy Spirit, of which true preachers have always possessed one, and preach in secret against God's commandment it is obvious that they have been sent by Leviathan, that coiling serpent, to preach as the fore-runners of anti-Christ, defying the commandments of God by transforming themselves into angels of light when in truth they are angels of Satan. This can be recognised from the fact that they are led by the spirit of the devil and that they are anti-Christ, that is, Christ's contraries. See, Christ spoke to the crowds and to his disciples saying '*The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat. So practise and observe whatever they tell you, but not what they do.*' He teaches that we ought not to despise priests and condemn the tradition of the church which they show us. For what they say concerns us and is for our benefit, but what they do concerns them and is their business. Their teaching gives us life, but if their way of life is evil and corrupt it brings them death but does us no harm. Let us take what is ours and let go what does not belong to us. When you go before a judge if he says what is correct his evil character does not destroy his judgement. His verdict is lawful and just. Although he may be a vicious character, an adulterer, a murderer, Godless, still his judgement is not tainted for those reasons. So the office and powers of a priest are not tainted by his evil character. But these mock apostles, whom a foul dungeon awaits for their evil deeds, claim that if a priest is a sinner his Mass has no validity, his service is useless, his power to bind and loose are void and corrupt like his person.

They lie, filled with the spirit of Satan, since Christ clearly destroyed this opinion of theirs through Matthew in his gospel, when he says *On that day many will say to me 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name and cast out demons in your name and do many mighty works in your name', and then will I declare to them 'I never knew you' (that is, loved you) 'depart from me you evil-doers.'* At the outset of their preaching many used to cast out demons, although they were unworthy, since demons are put to flight at the name of Jesus. Grace and sanctification came about even through the unworthy, as at the hands of Judas who worked miracles, and the detestable sons of Sceva. So it began from the earliest days of the church and will last until the end, for just as then demons were cast out in the name of Jesus by Judas and those like him, so today and till the end of time demons will be cast out from penitents and candidates for baptism in the name of Jesus Christ even by bad priests, and the people will be hallowed by those whom God has already rejected and condemned but who in this instance are the ministers of the graces of the Holy Spirit and so to be honoured. Grace has been given through them and the Lord has opened their mouth as he opened the mouth of Balaam's ass.

Again, they speak clearly and openly against Christ and the truth itself when they remove oaths from the church, failing to understand what Christ commanded in the gospel and James in his epistle, as he imitates his master. They never forbid swearing by God but only by his creatures, saying *'Do not swear at all, either by heaven, for it is the throne of God, or by the earth for it is his footstool'* nor by any other creature, and this for the reason that there should be no room for idolatry, for they deified heaven and earth and the other created things by which they swore. God alone, who is subject to no-one, swears by himself but we who have no power of our own, how could we swear by our head—for it belongs to another—if your head belongs to you change, if you can, the natural colour of a single hair. An oath is not to be forbidden, nor to be desired as if it were something good. To swear freely and without compulsion or to swear a false oath is a serious sin, but to swear from necessity, to confirm our own innocence or to ratify a peace agreement or to persuade the hearers of what is to their advantage is good and necessary. For this reason all the church of the Greek and Latin saints, which these wicked and evil men contradict (for which alone they deserve death) holds and preaches that oaths should be employed when need be, when men are reluctant to believe what is good and useful. So oaths

are not against the commandment of God. The Lord and his disciple James should be understood to have forbidden swearing in these terms, that as far as he is able nobody should swear because it is part of the evil, not of the person who takes the oath but the evil of the reluctance to believe of the person who forces him to swear. Yet it is not evil, because it is necessary. But to swear from greed, or through pleasure in swearing as many do who take pleasure in oaths as if they were something great and attractive is a great sin. If it were wrong to swear as these most wretched men claim God himself would not have sworn an oath saying *'By myself have I sworn, because you have done this and have not withheld your son, your only son, I will bless you and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven'*. The Lord swore, and did not repent of it. *Abraham was old and advanced in years, and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things. And Abraham said to his servant, the oldest of his house, 'Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you swear by the Lord of heaven and earth that you will not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites. The Lord, the god of heaven, who took me from my father's house . . . spoke to me and swore to me 'To your descendants I will give this land'. . . . So the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham . . . and swore to him concerning this matter.'* Abraham himself also swore, for so it is said *'Abymelech and Ochozath his son-in-law and Phicol the commander of his army said to Abraham 'God is with you . . . so swear . . . by God that you will not deal falsely with me (V. 'harm') or my offspring'. Abraham swore and therefore that place was called Beersheba because there both of them swore an oath. Similarly Jacob swore an oath to Laban his father-in-law and Joseph was bound by an oath to Jacob his father, saying 'If I have found favour in your sight put your hand under my thigh . . . that you will not bury me in Egypt. So swear to me, he said, and so swearing Israel adored God (in V, not in RSV).'* Moses too, that friend of God, swore an oath to Raguel, priest of Midian, for thus it is written *Moses swore that he would live with him*. Why should I repeat at length? Without oaths the world did not and cannot stand. We are forbidden to take God's name falsely, but to swear by the name of God in case of need is not forbidden in the Old Testament or in the New. See, if swearing were a sin the evangelist John would not have introduced an angel swearing, for he says *The angel whom I saw standing on sea and land lifted up his right hand to heaven and swore by him who lives for ever and ever . . . that there should be no more delay*. The apostle knows the Lord's commands and yet he says *As God is my witness* which is the same as saying 'By God it is

so', which is more serious than to swear on the gospel, because the scriptures are holy because of God, not God because of the scriptures. So too creatures are holy through God. Nevertheless today through an ecclesiastical enactment oaths are sworn in necessary cases by touching the gospels. To swear by God is to call God to witness. To swear an oath is to give God the legal power of truth and not of falsehood. Anyone who removes oaths in necessary matters from the church launches lasting hostility against the church and between princes who are at odds. The church has no other tie with which to fasten them and bring them to peace and unity. Those who totally remove oaths from the church destroy the law of the church which it had from the beginning. And so for this reason alone (to say nothing of their other most wicked crimes) they should be taken away and removed as *fruitless trees in late autumn, twice dead, uprooted* to be cut off from truth and thrown into the fire, wise in their own eyes against the precepts of the apostles, *wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever.*

Moreover the most pious emperor Constantine, Justinian and all the most Christian emperors promulgated this law to the whole world, believers and unbelievers alike, that in the absence of proof a lawsuit should be decided by swearing an oath, sometimes for the plaintiff, sometimes for the accused, and again that the judge should swear that he would judge in individual cases in accordance with truth, observing the law as should seem just. We ought to believe the emperors, especially the most Christian ones, and anyone who does not obey them but obstinately gainsays them should be condemned to death. More important than any of these is God's commandment, who said in Exodus through Moses that oaths ought to exist, '*If a man delivers to his neighbour an ass or an ox or a sheep or any beast to keep and it dies or is hurt or driven away without anyone seeing it, an oath shall be between them both to see whether he has not put his hand to his neighbour's property and the owner shall accept the oath and he shall not make restitution.*' Since then God himself, and the holy church of the Latins and Greeks has from the beginning allowed the swearing of oaths in necessary cases and the most holy and Christian emperors have confirmed this the Patarenes should not abolish it completely. Although Christ ordered preaching to be open the Patarenes preach in secret against the command of Christ, and although Christ told us to observe everything which priests do in their capacity as priests and they administer oaths in accordance with their priestly status the Patarenes say

that we should not observe them and abolish oath-swearing. So it is clear that they are false apostles, heretics, antichrists, excommunicate, divided and separated from holy church, and nothing remains but that the most Christian emperor Manuel should devoutly intervene, ordering them and their followers to be sent to the fiery furnace so that they may begin to burn here who will be burnt in the everlasting fires of Hell. Amen, Amen.

But if by any chance these wretched and deluded men should respond to the scriptural examples listed above that they are not to be trusted because they are taken from the old law the mouths of those who say this should be closed and stopped with these arguments. First they should be told that the Old Testament is the basis of the new law, and that anyone who rejects the old is evilly disposed to the new, for just as the *stone cut out from a mountain by no human hand*, that is Christ, was born in accordance with the patriarchs and the prophets and without coition, so the New Testament concerning him is derived from the Old and depends on it. That is what Matthew means when he says '*The book of the genealogy . . . of the son of David, the son of Abraham.*' Luke confirms the same when he says '*And Jesus himself was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph the son of Hely the son of Mathan the son of Levi . . .*' and what follows. Mark too gives testimony about the beginning of his gospel, saying '*Behold I send my messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way*' and John too is in agreement with them when he says '*The law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.*' That is why our saviour when he defeated the devil quoted the evidence of the old law, this '*Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God*', and again '*You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve.*' In many other places of the gospel he acts in the same way. Peter the apostle too calls women to chaste living through the example of Sarah, saying '*You wives, be submissive to your husbands . . . as Sarah obeyed Abraham calling him Lord. And you are now her children if you do right and let nothing terrify you.*' Jude the apostle says the same '*Those who walk in the way of Cain and abandon themselves for the sake of gain to Balaam's error and perish in Chorah's rebellion.*' Moreover James the apostle takes pleasure in Old Testament examples and says '*Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness and he was called the friend of God,*' and similarly he cites Rahab the harlot among his examples. We should listen to what Paul, the chosen vessel and doctor of the Gentiles, thinks of the old

law. He says '*The law is holy and the commandment is holy and just and good*' and again '*I delight in the law of God in my inmost self*' and clearly he silences the Manichean Patarenes and all those who attack the old law. For this reason the holy fourth ecumenical council anathematises all those who have such beliefs, rightly, for it is written that it is like the sin of soothsaying to oppose the tradition that the church holds and like the wickedness of idolatry to refuse to accept it. Since the aforesaid Patarenes have rejected the tradition of the holy churches in Greek and Latin the Lord has rejected them from his kingdom as dissemblers and hypocrites.

Their falsehood is not only evident in what has been mentioned already but in the mystery of the Lord's body, which they claim remains bread as it was before even after the blessing. Moreover as concerns the sacrament of marriage they have a most wicked view, saying that every marriage should be dissolved, and as concerns the veneration and reverence of the holy images, which they say are deaf and dumb effigies they are completely in error. They are guilty of opposing God in all these matters as in those others which those who wish can identify from what follows.

Indeed the sacrament of marriage condemns them in many ways. For if marriages ceased to be, the flower of virginity would not be found, for here and nowhere else the deflowered flower is plucked. For this reason lawful wedlock is thought to excel all earthly honour, because it is the root of virginity, the blessing of the growing world. The creator of the human race, the divine painter of images of the Lord, presides over it with his blessing, he who demanded to be made man so that he could say with confidence *Behold me and the children whom God has given me*. God is the author of marriage. He made this decree who created woman to help man to propagate the human race. Adam recognised her usefulness in the spirit when he said '*This is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife and they become one flesh.*' If the union of marriage could not take place without sin the Lord would not have ordered them to copulate after the Flood, saying '*Be fruitful and multiply*'. Since without physical desire they could not be joined the apostle Paul defends them from all sin when he says '*For if a girl marries she does not sin*' and '*The husband should give his wife her conjugal rights and likewise the wife to the husband.*' If lawful wedlock were a sin Christ would not have hallowed marriage in Cana of Galilee by his physical presence and by working a miracle,

nor would he have said in the gospel *'Everyone who divorces his wife except on the ground of unchastity makes her an adulteress, and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery'*. A disciple said to him *'If such is the case of a man with his wife it is not expedient to marry.'* But he said *'Not all men can receive this saying, but only those to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by men and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who is able to receive this, let him receive it.'* So he forces no-one to remain a virgin, nor does he destroy the good of marriage, but rather he teaches that a man should not leave his wife unless she commits adultery. And so it is evident that marriage comes from God, that it is good and approved by the Old Testament and the New, and that they are heretical deceivers who try to abolish so great a good from our midst.

But these most wicked men attack also the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood in which not wine alone nor water alone should be offered but both mixed together since both flowed from his body. The unseen priest, by his secret power, turns this sacrament into the substance of his body and blood, saying *Take and eat, this is my body* and, having repeated the consecration, *Take and drink, this is my blood*. When these words are pronounced without any equivocation they change the bread into flesh and the wine into blood, while the remaining words are said in praise of God, because he himself said *'My flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed'*. This miracle instructs you, Patarene, and yet you say *'How is it real blood? How is it real flesh? I do not see the likeness of flesh, I do not see the likeness of blood as I gaze.'* You do not believe Christ when he says *'This is my body, this is my blood'* and *'Unless you eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood you have no life in you.'* The speech of Christ is effectual, the speech of Christ alters the institutions of nature. Why are you astonished if at the saviour's words bread becomes flesh and wine blood when at the voice of a charmer a snake can be forced and drawn from its cave? That is why the viper blocks its ears, so that it will not hear the voice of the cunning sorcerer softly uttering a charm. If a charm captures a serpent, so a blessing can alter bread and wine. Fool, in your belly, unseen by you bread turns into flesh and wine into blood. The power of blessing is greater than that of nature, and yet nature makes something which below the waves is a soft plant harden into stone which is called 'coral' after it reaches the air. Moses held a rod, he threw it down and it became a ser-

pent. He seized the serpent's tail again and it returned to the nature of a rod. At the voice of Moses the nature of serpent and rod changed. The course of the waters of the Nile was clear, and suddenly from the depths of the springs blood began to spurt out. Again, at the prayer of Moses the streams of blood stopped and the nature of the waters reappeared. Again, Moses held up a rod and the water of the Red Sea stopped, a path on land appeared between the waves. Against nature the Jordan flowed backwards and at Mara the contact with wood produced sweet water which had been most bitter to the people in their thirst. The words of Elijah called down fire from heaven, and cannot the words of Christ turn bread into another substance, he who made everything out of nothing? The change which you do not see take effect with your bodily eyes your mind refuses to acknowledge as true, but tell me, does not fire cook bread and the other foods we eat? Like something inviolate and incorruptible it changes food-stuffs by entering them, and when the change is complete and the cooking finished unless it is prevented it leaves inviolate and incorruptible. As it goes out a very fine air like smoke appears, but in reality a most pure kind of fire appears which they call heat. It is one thing in substance, another in appearance. Beyond doubt the fiery essence is what you think, from its colour, is air alone, although it is most certainly turned into air. So assuredly it is flesh which from its colour you wrongly take to be bread. You should not seek the normal course of events in the case of the body of Christ, because a virgin conceived and bore it outside the course of nature. So believe him when he says '*This is my body*' which is most certainly consecrated no less by a bad priest than by a good one, since it is accomplished not by the merit of the consecrator but by the words of the saviour and the power of the holy spirit. Listen, Patarene, to what happened at Constantinople and put your faith in what the catholic church of God reverences and venerates.

In the time of the emperor Arcadius, when John Chrysostom governed the church of Constantinople a certain man, together with his wife, members of the sect of the heretic Macedonius, came to him and having heard his teaching promised to abide by his commandments. His wife agreed to the same (that is, she made this concession). As Easter was upon them he made his communion and his wife promised to do the same. So she came into the church with her maid, bringing with her the communion of Macedonius, which she handed to the maid. Next, having received communion at the

bishop's hand, with some sleight of hand she took back what she had given to the maid and deposited with the girl what she had received from the bishop's hands. But as soon as the communion of Macedonius touched the woman's mouth it turned into stone. When this became evident the terrified woman rushed to the feet of the bishop in tears, begging forgiveness and admitting what she had dared to do, while the stone was put in a place of safe-keeping.

I do not want to omit what similarly took place at Constantinople when the emperor Justin was on the throne. In that city there was a certain Jewish glass-maker, who had an only son. He had sent him to be educated beside the Great Church. One day, when the custodian of the holy vessels had many fragments which had been left over from the holy table he called the boys who were being educated to eat the remnants of this kind. The Jewish boy was present and ate. When he went home his father asked him why he had been so delayed and he answered 'I went into the Great Church with the Christian boys and ate what was left over from the altar which they call the table with the others, and that is what delayed me.' His furious father, raging like a wild beast, kept his words to himself and after the meal when he had taken his son to the place where glass was melted he threw him into a glowing stove, shut the door and went away. But his wife, who realised his anger with the boy, ran hastily to the smelting-furnace, bent down by the hole in the door and heard the voice of the boy who was inside, within the stove'. At once she broke down the door, entered and dragged her son out of the stove unharmed. When the mother asked her son who had thrown him into the fire and how the flames had not burnt him he answered like this 'My father', he said, 'threw me into the stove. But a venerable woman clothed in purple put the flame out saying "Do not be frightened, boy."' When she heard this his mother was astonished and straightaway hurried to the patriarch, whose name was Menas, with her son. She told what had happened in order, and begged of him the catholic faith of the church. The patriarch brought them both, mother and son, before the emperor's majesty. Augustus ordered the boy's father to be brought in. When he arrived in person he was prevailed upon by the most merciful prince and enticed by arguments and rewards to become a Christian, together with his wife and his son, but he did not agree. For that reason the imperial verdict ordered him, as the murderer of his own son, to

be hanged. His wife became a nun and his son was created a reader in the Great Church.

Concerning the adoration, cult and honour of images we have authority which outranks all the impiety of the Patarenes. For that reason I will say nothing of the miracles which God constantly works through the holy images. Holy images sometimes when struck by the faithless have poured out blood, some have prevented thieves from their crime, by contact with some health has been restored to the sick, and many have been freed from demons. You must remember, Patarene, you who attack all these things, that the company of Christians does not adore images because they are coloured and made out of rich material; nor insofar as they do not hear or see or smell, do they act idolatrously as the Israelites who adored the golden calf. But inasmuch as they have meaning through the distinctive image we show them worship and reverence. Certainly in this sense we honour and venerate the altar, chalice and gospel books, not because they contain goat- or sheepskins marked with ink, but because they extend to our mind at length the words and thoughts which Christ delivered. Hear this reason, which you cannot deny at all, why the devotion of the faithful reveres images, wake from your sleep and together with us honour and venerate the human form of our redeemer and of the saints.

A woman who, according to Luke, was delivered from a flow of blood by touching the fringe of the Saviour's cloak, as a memorial of so great a benefit set up a bronze figure of a woman kneeling with her arms outstretched in front of her as if in prayer, while opposite in a higher position she placed a standing figure of the saviour made of the same material, decently covered with a cloak and holding out his hand to the woman. By his feet grew a certain strange herb, which reached as far as the fringe of the bronze cloak and destroyed all kinds of suffering. The image of the body of Christ and the vigour of the plant that grew there lasted at Caesarea Philippi until the time of the emperor Maximin. He was an enemy of the Christian religion, superstitious and idolatrous. While he was on a journey through those parts he heard that Christ's name was powerful because of that image. He ordered the image of the saviour just mentioned to be smashed and the plant immediately vanished.

I will tell you another wonder which is as yet the best known in all the world. At about the same time a prince of Edessa named

Abgar was handicapped by most serious weakness, that is by a rigid contraction of his joints and leprosy black with ulcers. Having learnt of the miracles of Christ by frequent hearing he repeatedly asked Christ to come to him, promising him through messengers the lordship of his kingdom or presents worthy of such great labour. And so about the time of his passion, when Jesus spent the night in prayer and his sweat, as Luke writes, became like *drops of blood* falling to the ground, he asked one of his disciples for a towel with which he wiped his face. O wondrous providence of the perfect saviour! The towel preserved the image of Christ impressed on it. He handed it to the apostle Thomas, ordering him to send it by Thaddaeus to prince Abgar after his ascension. So Abgar accepted the gift and the messenger with great thanks and vast affection, and at once by contact with Christ was set free from all the sickness which had afflicted him. What was even more astonishing must also be told. The aforesaid image of the towel marked a certain tile with all the features of the face of Christ. How this came about I will briefly set forth. A statuette of one of the gods whom the pagans worshipped was placed above the threshold gates of the city, which all who entered Edessa worshipped as a god. On the orders of prince Abgar this was removed and the reverend image of the saviour took its place. He ordered more honour and reverence to be shown to it by those who entered the city than to the one that had been removed. But after a long time there arose a certain prince of that city, a persecutor of the Christian religion, who burnt holy figures. He threatened with fire the above-mentioned most holy object which was not made with hands, but to no effect. The bishop of the city rose at night, in haste and with diligence, with the necessary equipment, and when he had carved out a space in the shape of a semicircle he filled a lamp with oil and hung it in front of the image, with glittering brilliance of light. After blocking off the remaining parts he covered the saviour's face with a tile as covering. Outside he smoothed the whole surface of the niche and coloured it with white plaster. When the course of many years had elapsed age had destroyed all memory of these things, to such an extent that the description of where the sacred face had been hidden was completely unknown. But when the Persians attacked the people of Edessa, intending to destroy the city, the bishop of the city, whose name was Eulalius, saw a woman of venerable appearance in a dream. She told him to take the image of the saviour and showed him the place where it

was hidden; he was to go round the whole city with it and in this way destruction would be averted. When the bishop woke he was eager to carry out all the instructions of the woman he had seen. He hastened to the place she had indicated and found the most holy image and the lighted lamp which in so great an interval of time had no sign of burning out, while on the tile which had been put as a covering for protection the face of our Saviour was found pictured, exactly as it is on the sacred cloth. The bishop aforesaid took up all these things and circled the city as he had been ordered, and wherever he sprinkled some of the oil from the lamp he had found on the Persians at once they all turned to flight, and the city remained unharmed. So then the people of Edessa kept the holy images as an inviolate treasury and inexhaustible wealth, as a protection from evil, a relief from trouble, a defence against threats and an invincible safeguard against danger. At length, when it seemed good to the creator of all things that the magnificence of these images should become most famous to the whole world, he moved the heart of the Roman emperor to send ambassadors with magnificent gifts to the people of Edessa. They obtained everything he asked for, and in company with Abrannius, bishop of Samosata, they brought the sacred images often named above to Constantinople, that is, to Blachernae, on the fifteenth of August. On the sixteenth day of the same month the emperor, the patriarch, all the clergy and the entire citizen body with lamps ablaze, with hymns and spiritual songs, with lavish honour and admirable reverence came carrying the most holy images, in whose presence a host of the sick were healed, to the Great Palace. They were placed there with worthy honour and reverence and are preserved to this day. But the citizens of Constantinople keep the feast every year on the sixteenth of August, in the belief that through the noble effigy of the saviour they are freed from plague, famine and hostile attack, and the city is preserved unconquered through all the ages.

As concerns the honour and reverence that should be shown to the life-giving cross, and that the foreheads of believers should be protected by its sign it is unnecessary to dilate at length, both because it is evident from what has been said already and because this can be clearly understood from the sequence of the Old and New Testaments. Yet perhaps the Patarene, being a Manichee, will say 'If reverence is not shown to a donkey because Christ sat on a donkey, nor should honour be given to the cross because the same Christ

was crucified on it. Again, just as the faces of believers are not signed with the figure of the spear, or reed, or thorn, or nail, or sponge, although these too are holy, so to be signed with the image of the cross is superstitious.' Listen, Patarene, to the explanation of these points to which my most noble brother, Leo Tuscus, the most excellent translator of the imperial letters, gives his assent. It was not on a donkey but on the cross that Christ accomplished the salvation of the world, defeated the devil and emptied his kingdom. That is why demons are not afraid of a donkey, but always fly from the presence of the cross, and so it is not to a donkey but to the cross that the assembly of the faithful shows the honour that is its due. The rod of Moses signified the cross, through which this world is defeated and the prince of this world with his princes and powers is led in triumph. When it was thrown on to the ground it turned into a snake, that is, wisdom, for after the cross came and brought belief and faith to mankind it devoured all the wisdom of the Egyptians, that is, of this world. Certainly the wisdom of this world has been made foolish after Christ crucified was seen to be the power of God and the wisdom of God. The sign of the cross, not of reed, or thorn, or nail, or sponge, or spear is marked on the foreheads of the faithful because, as Paul says, it is to the cross and to none of these other things that Christ *fixed the bond which stood against us with its legal demands*, which God spoke to Adam saying *In the day that you eat you shall die*. The devil held to this and opposed us in this and was our adversary. Christ took this away, fixing it not to a reed, or spear, or anything else than the cross, for when the innocent is killed sin is crucified and the bond is destroyed. That is why we protect ourselves and sign ourselves with the sign of the cross, and not of the other things, because we always remember that the bond was fixed to it. Let us not return to the old order. The cross is marked on the forehead, the seat of modesty, so that we may always take pride in it with Paul, who said *'Far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'* The cross should be the glory of all the faithful because it showed the love Christ has for us. What greater joy is there for a servant than to know his master's love for him? Some say that the cross is made of two pieces, which are divided among the faithful, accusing us of showing reverence to the wood as wood when the shape of the cross has been destroyed. We must always tell these people that it is not the timber but the shape of the cross that the faithful people honour and venerate. Nothing like this can

be shown in the case of the reed or sponge or the other things. That is why it is appropriate that we should sign our faces with the sign of the cross, not of anything else that has been mentioned, to ward off the attacks of demons. Certainly it is this that John cries aloud in the Apocalypse, when he says '*I John saw another angel ascend from the rising of the sun, with the sign of the living God,*' that is, the sign of the life-giving cross, the sign with which the servants of our God are signed on their foreheads until the bitter and fearful day of the last judgement. But why should I ask the apostles when I find our Lord Jesus Christ teaching this? Luke writes that when our redeemer was about to ascend into heaven *he led the disciples out to Bethany and lifting up his hands he blessed them and while he blessed them he parted from them and was carried up into heaven.* He blessed the disciples giving them strength to protect them until the hope of his coming; by doing this the saviour clearly taught, even now that he has gone away, that priests and prelates should sign and protect their subjects with their hands raised in the shape of the cross, and that is why the holy church of God of the Latins and Greeks preserves this form of blessing even today. Moreover every Christian constantly defends himself against Leviathan, so that he may not fall from the company of the faithful, with a sign of the kind by which the deacon Laurence gave sight to the blind.

But, Patarene, food of Erinys, the fury from Hell, unless you are defended by the sign I have named, wounded in the forehead with stones wet from the brook you will be cast headlong into the depths of hell, because you have been shown that you should obey bad priests, on the authority of the saviour who gave the order *Practice and observe whatever they tell you but not what they do.* Again, you can understand, if you abandon your obstinacy of heart, that if swearing oaths was totally forbidden the holy church of God throughout the world and the most pious emperors would never permit a case to be decided by oath-taking. Nor, if in accordance with your wicked opinion, marrying a wife was not allowed, would Christ have been a guest at a wedding and made the water into good wine. What else do you doubt? On the altar flesh and blood become bread and wine, as he bears witness in whose mouth there is no guile. *My flesh* he says *is real food and my blood is real drink.* So restrain your tongue from such shameless denial and from insulting the holy images. For if it were a sin to pay honour and reverence to the life-giving cross and the holy images Christ would not have given the world the

image of his face in a picture, nor would the church celebrate those things which are summarized in this little book, not at great length nor shortened in their abundance, so that men of zeal may have authorities to hand on which they can rely to try to persuade the most intelligent emperor Manuel with ease to order a black theta to be placed on the foreheads of the men of this most damnable sect.

The conclusion of the book of Hugh Eteriano against the Patarenes.

COMMENTARY ON THE *CONTRA PATARENOS*

Janet Hamilton

Preface

The text of the *Contra Patarenos* is known from two manuscripts, one in the Bodleian library in Oxford (MS Canon. Lat. Pat. 1), here B, and one at Seville in the Colombina (Cod. 5.1.24), S. They are closely related, so closely that passages which are illegible in one may safely be reconstructed from the other, but there are significant differences. The most important of these is the section where Hugh discusses the Patarene attitude towards marriage (see text pp. 165–6) which is entirely missing from B. It appears in the contents list of S (which may not be original) and is picked up in the final paragraph in both MSS. The scribe appears to have glanced from the introductory sentence on p. 165 which refers to the sacrament of the eucharist and of marriage to the similar sentence on p. 166 which introduces the detailed discussion of the heretical attack on the eucharist.

At two places (pp. 156 and 164) the MSS differ significantly in the quotation of scriptural texts. At p. 156 S makes some confusion in listing the manifestation of the holy spirit, while at p. 164, ll. 15–17 B jumps from ‘Iudas apostolus’ to ‘Iacobus apostolus’, omitting some 19 words of quotation from the epistle of Jude. Both texts share one error which must have been present in their archetype. At p. 167, l. 19 there is a list of the Old Testament wonders which are cited as precedents for the changes which occur at the consecration. All are found in St. Ambrose, and are part of the commonplace of eucharistic commentary later, and among them is the sweetening at Mara of bitter water for the thirsty Israelites on their journey through the wilderness. Both texts fail to recognise the proper name and instead write ‘ara’ (altar), perhaps by confusion with the miracle in which Elijah kindled fire on the altar.

Finally there are two unexplained variants. At p. 168, l. 12, the story of the communion of Macedonius, B identifies the emperor in whose reign the miracle occurred as Arcadius, which is chronologically possible and would fit the account in Sozomen (see below, pp. 213–4).

S gives 'Eraclii'. Again, at p. 163, l. 8 B refers to the hope that the heretics will be condemned by 'christianissimi imperatores' (the most Christian emperors). These are presumably the emperor Manuel and his son Alexius, associated in power with him from 1171,¹ which would supply a date *ante quem non* for this MS. S uses the phrase 'autocrator Manuel' with no mention of any colleague in the imperial power, but a more authentically Byzantine sounding title.

The two MSS are not divided into the same number of chapters, or at the same points. B is divided into five and S into thirteen chapters. B has an elaborate set of glosses, especially early in the text; some are simple explanations of potentially difficult vocabulary but others, like the explanation of the origin of the name 'Hellespont' (p. 155 n. 8) are concerned to provide further explanation. The spacing of the MS supports the view that these glosses were part of the original plan of this version (see the physical description of the MS, p. 108).

The spelling of the name of these heretics has been the focus of much discussion. These two MSS are not consistent, either internally or with each other. We have made the arbitrary decision to use the form *Patareni* throughout the English text.

Commentary

Introduction to the Seville text

This list of contents is not included in the Bodley MS. The Seville MS gives headings and brief end-notes to other texts which it includes, e.g. the text which immediately precedes the *Contra Patarenos* ends 'This is the end of the book concerning the mysteries of the mass of Innocent III'. The list of contents here has the value of confirming that the section on marriage (pp. 165–6) which is missing from the Bodley version formed part of the original.

p. 155 line 13 **Memorandi quidam viri et spectabiles**

The individuals who requested this from Hugh are not named or otherwise identified anywhere. In this *Contra patarenos* differs from Hugh's other works. The *Liber de filio* was written at the emperor's

¹ P. Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 196.

request as its introductory and concluding paragraphs make clear. *De anima* was a response to a letter from the clergy of Pisa which has survived. Books I–III *de trinitate* have each a semi-dedicatory preface, and *de differentia naturae et personae* opens with a sentence addressing H's correspondents by name. It is possible that *contra patarenos* had once a separate dedication, but the vague description of the dedicatees here is echoed in the final sentence which refers only to 'those who may need a source-book of authorities'. Who they were must remain a matter for guess work.

p. 155 line 15 **constitutione**

Imperial enactments against heresy are found in the *Ecloga* of the emperor Leo,² where they are aimed at Montanists and Manichees, and reiterated in the provisions of the *Basilica*³—the updated summary of those parts of the code of Justinian which formed the basis of twelfth century Byzantine law. The first section of the first chapter of that work denies the remedy of the law to all heretics as far as property claims and rights of ownership of buildings for worship are concerned, but makes no reference to punishments under the criminal code. Hugh's demand for capital punishment appears to be directed at the emperor. The death penalty for heresy had been used against the Bogomil leader Basil in the early twelfth century on the emperor's order.⁴ In the commentary written by the canon lawyer Theodore Balsamon on the Nomocanon⁵—the body of Byzantine canon law—there is a reference to the condemnation of Bogomils in the reign of the patriarch Michael II (1143–6). Balsamon writes as though he is surprised that these heretics had been condemned to death by a church court (though he thinks the verdict was never enforced) but implicitly accepts the possibility that the normal procedure was to transfer such a case to a civil court who might impose this penalty.

p. 155 line 16 **Partibus elespontiatis**

This vague description may allude to settlements in Galata, across the Golden Horn from Constantinople proper, to Scutari or to the

² *Ecloga. A manual of Roman law*, ed. and trans. E.H. Freshfield, tit. xvii.5: *Ecloga basiliconum*, ed. L. Burgmann (1988).

³ *Basiliconum libri lx*, ed. H.J. Scheltenau, N. van der Wal.

⁴ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* 8.1.3, 9.2–5, 10.1–4.

⁵ PG 104.111.

shores of the Bosphorus. Genoese negotiators were encouraged by the home authorities to obtain leases on jetties and wharves on the Galata side of the Horn if they could do no better.⁶ When the Pisan merchants lost their commercial privileges in 1161 (p. 112) they were obliged to operate out of Scutari across the straits. As for the Bosphorus, there is evidence some 120 years earlier from the Byzantine monk Euthymius of the Periblepton in his anti-Bogomil tract of the existence of a priest whom he believed to be a heretic who had built a church at Hieron, near the naval base at the northern end of the straits.⁷

p. 156 line 10 **In occulte predicant**

Both Euthymius of the Periblepton⁸ and Euthymius Zigabenus⁹ suggest that the heretics they attack did not disclose their unorthodox views initially to their would-be converts, but they do not emphasise secrecy as characteristic of the group. The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*¹⁰ does make this claim. Any claim that they did not preach openly differentiates them from their Western contemporaries the Waldensians, who fell foul of the church authorities for precisely this reason, that they insisted on preaching whether or not they had the local bishop's licence to do so.¹¹ According to Euthymius of the Periblepton in the eleventh century his Bogomil opponents criticized the orthodox on the grounds that they prayed in public and in so doing acted against the words of Christ as recorded in Matt. 6.6.¹²

p. 156 line 15 **Unicuique predicatori datur manifestatio spiritus ad utilitatem**

The italicised words are direct quotations from I Corinthians, interspersed with Hugh's explanatory glosses. These are probably his own composition. They are not verbally very like those of the *Glossa*

⁶ P. Magdalino, 'Maritime neighbourhoods of Constantinople', *DOP* 54 (2000) quoting a document from A. Sanguinetti and G. Bertolatto, 'Nuove serie di documenti sulle relazioni de Genova coll'impero bizantino', *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 28 (1896-8), 346.

⁷ G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 26.

⁸ G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, pp. 29-30.

⁹ *Dogmatic Panophy* in *PG* 130.1312b-c, c. 16.

¹⁰ In *T&M* 2 (1967), p. 67 line 342.

¹¹ G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: persecution and survival c. 1170-c. 1570*, pp. 12-13.

¹² G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 80.

*ordinaria*¹³ on this passage, but the *Glossa* is not very interested in the gifts of the spirit. In the form in which it is now known it was only beginning to take shape when Hugh was writing and it seems unlikely that he had access to what did exist.

p. 156 line 18 **Iohanni Paulo Augustino Ieronimo Chrysostomo Gregorio**

This constitutes a symmetrical list; two apostles followed by two fathers from east and west. MS B substitutes Chrysogonus for Chrysostom, a name which would be familiar from its occurrence in the canon of the Mass. The Latins here are S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (d. 431), and St. Jerome, the translator of the Bible (d. 420); the Greeks St. John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople (d. 407) and St. Gregory, either St. Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395) or St. Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 398/9). In his other works, aimed at a more specialised readership Hugh gives more elaborate lists of the authorities he has consulted and cites them. These names may suggest a lay audience is intended.

p. 157 lines 6–7 **Neque linguas noverunt neque interpretationes linguarum**

What is alleged here may be literal or metaphorical ignorance. The former forms part of the regular invective against heretics (despite evidence, admittedly from a later date, that some western heretics were the product of the Paris schools).¹⁴ In the eastern tradition there was more emphasis on spiritual discernment (see p. 198) where the advice of an experienced elder may be taken even if he is not ordained.

p. 157 lines 10–11 **Ut Paulus Helymam . . . ut Petrus Ananiam**

The story of Paul and Elymas is to be found at Acts 13.8–12; that of Peter and Ananias at Acts 5.1–6.

p. 158 line 4 **non debeamus despiciere sacerdotes**

See the note on the eucharistic ministry of sinful priests below pp. 211–3.

¹³ See *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria* repr. and intro. K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson.

¹⁴ L. Paolini, 'Italian Cathars and written culture' in P. Biller and A. Hudson ed., *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, pp. 96–7 on Cathars in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century.

p. 159 line 1 **per Iudam facientem miracula perque detestabiles filios Scevae**

The sons of Sceva are the seven sons of a Jewish exorcist who allegedly cast out demons in the name of Christ although they were not members of the church, see Acts 19.14. Judas was one of the Twelve apostles and as such sent by Christ on a mission of preaching and healing, for which see Matthew 10.7–8. When they returned all reported the success of their mission.

p. 159 line 6 **A penitentibus et baptizandis**

The theological problem of the validity of the sacraments administered by unworthy priests (see pp. 211–13) did not only apply to the eucharist; since penitents needed to be confident that their absolution was efficacious. This might be a greater problem for western Christians where the rite was expressed as ‘I absolve thee’ than for Greeks where the formula took the form of a prayer that God would absolve. There is some evidence that the Greek church was more concerned with spiritual discernment than with ecclesiastical order. For the view held by some in the Greek church that monks who were not priests might hear confessions see the answers of the *chartophylax* Nicephoros cited by P. Gautier.¹⁵

In both the eastern and the western church baptism involved a formal rejection of the devil and all his works before the candidate was anointed with oil and had water poured over him. From the third century it had been agreed that anyone might baptise in an emergency (provided they used the right words and had the right intention) though such emergency baptism would not involve the use of the full rite. If what Hugh says here is based on any knowledge of Patarene practice it would seem that the group in Constantinople might have been prepared at least outwardly to conform.

p. 159 line 12 **Iuramentum tollentes**

The difficulty of reconciling the swearing of oaths as a normal part of social life with the fact that they appeared to have been expressly forbidden both by Christ (Matthew 5.34) and St. James (Epistle 5.12) was apparent by the late fourth century. Before the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire oaths in the law courts

¹⁵ P. Gautier, ‘Le *chartophylax* Nicephore’, *REB* 27 (1969), p. 172.

would have been taken either by pagan gods or by the *genius* of the emperor, and would have been ruled out for Christians on those grounds. Both St. Augustine and St. John Chrysostom discuss the problem as they confronted it after the peace of the church. In his letters 46–7¹⁶ Augustine deals with a variety of problems raised by a conscientious Christian layman operating in a society which was not yet entirely Christian. Might (he was asked) a Christian come to a sworn agreement where the pagan party swore by his pagan gods? Answer, Yes, just as a Christian may share a crop with a pagan knowing that the pagan will make an offering from his share to his pagan gods. In both cases the Christian is free to act provided that he does not make an offering to the temple from his share or himself swear by the pagan god. He returns to the question at some length in sermon 180¹⁷ discussing the passage from the epistle of St. James. He makes the point, repeated by Hugh, that in the Old Testament God himself is represented as swearing oaths, citing (as Hugh does) Genesis 22.16 as well as other texts. In this sermon Augustine is concerned to concentrate on the risk of falling into the sin of perjury, and gives a detailed analysis of what does and does not constitute this sin. Interestingly, because he is writing in a society not exclusively Christian he makes the point that perjury remains perjury even if the oath is taken by an idol:

Perjurus est quia per id quod sanctum putas falsum juras.

Despite the risk of perjury oath-swearing remains permissible on the grounds that Hugh alludes to;

Cum videro non mihi credi nisi faciam, et ei qui mihi non credit non expedit quod non credit, hac perpensa ratione et consideratione librata cum magno timore dico ‘Coram Deo’ aut ‘Testis est Deus’ aut ‘Scit Christus sic esse in animo meo’; et video quia plus est, id est quia amplius est quam ‘Est, Est; Non, Non’ sed quod amplius est a malo est, et si non a malo jurantis, a malo est non credentis.

When I see that I shall not be believed unless I do it [swear an oath], and it is not expedient for the person who does not believe me that he should not believe me, then after due consideration with great caution I say ‘By God’, or ‘As God is my witness’ or ‘Christ knows that this is what I intend’ and I see that this is more than ‘Yes, Yes’ or

¹⁶ *PL* 33.181–5.

¹⁷ *PL* 38.972–9.

'No, No' but because it is more it is evil, but not from the evil of the person who swears, but from the evil of the person who does not believe.

John Chrysostom takes a more idealistic view.¹⁸ According to him oath swearing results from the widespread nature of evil and is a consequence of mutual mistrust. He focussed on arguing against frequent oath-swearing and especially on the risk of committing perjury. In contrast to the use Hugh makes of Old Testament examples John Chrysostom stresses that the Christian should not use these arguments because Christ said that he had come to make all things new.

From these patristic sources it is clear that literal conformity to Matthew 5.34 or James 5.12 had been tacitly abandoned if it had ever been practised. In the early ninth century Paschasius Radbertus perceived the problem and wrote arguing the case. There are some verbal echoes of his writing in *Against the Patarenes* both here and in his sacramental theology though Hugh never explicitly cites Paschasius as one of his authorities.

In his commentary on Matthew 5.34¹⁹ Paschasius writes:

Sed tamen quia videtur Apostolus quam saepe jurasse et veritatis sacramenta inter Christianos pro satisfactione alterius, licet a malo sint, frequentius conceduntur, liquet quod Christus penitus jurare non prohibuit; sed propter occasionem perjurii docuit quod perfectius est; et ostendit quidquid ulterius fit, esto liceat veritatis obtentu, quod a malo est dum quisque, pro dubietate alterius, ut fidem faciat qui non credit jurare cogitur. Hic est quod Apostolus saepe jurat, ut infirmis ad fidem persuadeat. Hinc est quod Ecclesia suos pro pacis foedere fideique assensu frequenter jurare concedit. Sed Dominus docuit quod perfectius est, indulsit quod infirmitatis ressecavit quod superstitiosum erat et noxium. Quia profecti sicut mentire non potest qui non loquitur, sic periurare omnino non valet qui numquam jurat. Idcirco nemo sicut bonum appetat iusiurandum, sed pro infirmitate alterius quae a malo est utatur juramento veritatis subsidio fretus ut ei persuadeat quam jure necessaria fide viderit infirmari.

Since it is apparent that the apostle swore quite often, and oaths of truth are frequently granted between Christians for the satisfaction of one another however these may be the result of the evil one, it is clear that Christ did not totally forbid swearing, but because it might lead

¹⁸ PG 60.82, *Homilia in acta apostolorum ix*.

¹⁹ PL 120.254–5.

to perjury he taught what is the more perfect way, and showed that whatever is done beyond that, that though it may be permitted in search of truth it is from the evil one when anyone is compelled to swear on account of another's doubt, to create belief in one who does not believe. It is in this way that the Apostle often swears to confirm the faith of the weak; hence it is that the church frequently grants its members the right to swear oaths in order to make peace treaties and oaths of loyalty. But the Lord taught that which was more perfect; he allowed that which is superstitious and harmful should be excised from weakness. Because indeed, just as a man who does not speak cannot tell a lie, so it is completely impossible to commit perjury if you don't swear. So no-one should desire to swear as a good thing, but he should use an oath for another's weakness (which is from the evil one because weakness is an evil) relying on the help of truth, so that he may strengthen in faith him whom he sees to be weakened, by a necessary oath.

Late eleventh century Byzantine commentators on the same passage of St. Matthew show no sign of seeing any difficulty in reconciling the Biblical text with contemporary practice; neither Theophylact of Ochrida²⁰ nor Euthymius Zigabenus²¹ does more than paraphrase the text.

Hugh is concerned with the value of oath-swearing to ensure loyalty and to reconcile opponents. In both East and West such loyalty oaths were sworn.²² A famous international oath-swearing ceremony is that of the oath sworn by the leaders of the First Crusade to Alexius Comnenus. The content of this ceremony has been much discussed, and whether both Greeks and Franks had the same understanding of what they were swearing to, but as John Pryor says²³ what is beyond doubt is that the ceremony of oath-taking might be watched by both sides and could be identified for what it was. On this occasion the problem arises because no details of any ceremony are recorded. While such oath ceremonies were performed by the participants without being necessarily confirmed or validated by any

²⁰ *PG* 123.20.

²¹ *PG* 129.217.

²² Western examples include the provisions of the constitution of Lothair (*MGH Leg. II.i.* p. 323) and at a later date the oath of loyalty to the Patriarch of Jerusalem (E. de Rozière ed. *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ser. 1.5); for eastern examples see J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, esp. p. 159, and N. Svoronos, 'Le serment de fidélité à l'empereur byzantin et sa signification constitutionnelle', *REB* 9 (1951), pp. 117–25.

²³ J. Pryor, 'The oath of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus' *Parergon* 2 (1984), pp. 111–41, esp. at p. 115.

superior authority the transition from these to Hugh's second category—oaths administered by the institutional church as a means of avoiding feud—would not be difficult, and from these again to the use of the oath in the law courts. A clear western example of the use of the oath to avoid feud, administered by a representative of the church, can be found in an article by P. Hyams.²⁴ A man who had been accused of involvement in a neighbour's violent death was allowed to clear himself on oath, an oath probably drawn up by and certainly administered in the presence of the local Hospitaller prior, followed by a homage ritual.

While this oath was an *ad hoc* form of words, chosen to fit the circumstances of the particular case, in the eastern empire with its more formal law code generalized oath formulae and instructions for their use are found. The preamble of one such, among the Novels of the empress Irene, makes it clear that the formula is a potentially vital part of the legal process, not just a validation of the testimony of witnesses.²⁵

Having been examined two or three times in the presence of the judges let them prepare a written deposition with their own hand and place it before the assembly, containing words on these lines 'So-and-so and So-and-so (their profession or rank). The Lord God is our witness and this holy place in which we stand and to which we have brought our deposition. We are telling the truth and not lying in any detail. And after this our statement we will take our stand by the dread altar of God. May a return be given to us and to our children in this world and in the world to come in accordance with our statement. But if we are found at any time to have lied to this assembly we will repay the penalty due to the person penalized, all the expenses due to the judges and double the sum involved. Let us be subject to penalty on these terms.' Let them do this while the holy gospels lie on the altar.

The reference to the presence of the gospels before which the oath is sworn finds its echo in Hugh's 'tactis evangeliis' (touching the gospels). That some religious sanction was required of all witnesses is clear from the unedifying situation revealed by a Jewish petition of 1146;²⁶ the petitioners begged for the cessation of the custom by

²⁴ P. Hyams, 'Homage and feudalism; a judicious separation' in *Die Gegenwart des Feudalismus*, pp. 14–49, at pp. 31–2.

²⁵ L. Burgmann, *Die Novellen der Kaiserin Irene*. Fontes Minores IV (1981), at p. 30. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. R. Macrides.

²⁶ A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, pp. 156–7.

which they had been required to validate their evidence by spitting on (and presumably showing) their circumcision. Hugh's final point, the allusion to the Byzantine law codes, is a free adaptation of a section of the *Basilica*—the summary of those parts of the Justinianic law code which were in current use after the tenth century. Hugh is correct in connecting this set of law books to earlier emperors. Perhaps his interest may be linked to the study of the Justinianic code which was currently taking shape in Italy where his contemporary Burgundio translated those parts of Justinian's Code which dated from the reign of that emperor onwards and had not been issued in Latin, using a MS which had come to Pisa by way of Amalfi.²⁷

p. 162 line 8 **Constantinus piissimus imperator**

The *Code* of Justinian included some material which antedated the first Christian emperor, but Hugh is concerned to stress the continuity of law from the peace of the church.

p. 162 line 10 **Inopia probationum**

Here we have a straight translation of a passage in the *Basilica* whose usefulness to the Byzantine legal system is evident from the use made of it by Demetrius Chomatianus, archbishop of Bulgaria from 1217. His collection of legal cases dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, but Michael Angold²⁸ gives cogent reasons for supposing that the system he administered was not significantly different from that of the twelfth though at the earlier period the role of non-ecclesiastical courts was probably more extensive. Demetrius quotes as follows:

In heading 1, title 1 of book 22 of the *Basilica* it is thus said expressly: An oath which is offered either by the plaintiff or the defendant cuts short debate, for it is like a solution and has more weight than a vote. At heading 4d these words: Any case in which an oath has been offered, imposed, provided and accepted by the agreement of both parties or of the defendant is circumscribed and cannot be re-examined on the pretext of perjury.

In heading 30 about the middle it is decreed: if a decision is once given and an appeal has not been granted but the original decision is

²⁷ P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa; Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer*, p. 31.

²⁸ M. Angold, *Church and society under the Comneni, 1081–1261*, p. 242.

confirmed in the appeal court it is no longer possible for the oath giver to change his mind and jump to other arguments so that having failed to achieve the end of his original plea he can make the beginning of another case.

In every legal case where there is lack of evidence an oath should be imposed to cut short the present points at issue and this the law declares.

Elsewhere in the legal notes of Demetrius it is clear that his court was familiar with the use of documentary evidence to reveal details of ownership, dowry provisions and so on. Oaths are used alongside these other categories of material.

p. 162 line 21 **Ecclesia sanctorum omnis grecorum et latinorum**

Throughout this work Hugh is concerned to stress the unity (on some matters) of the Latin and Greek churches. Various explanations suggest themselves; that the Latins in Constantinople came under the discipline of the Orthodox patriarch in default of any high-ranking Latin churchman, and that (as can be seen from the account of Hugh's run-in with the tax-man Astafortis (see pp. 136–7) he gained support from Greeks as well as Latins when it came to putting up his bail. He spent most of his life considering the theological differences between the two churches, but the conversation with the emperor Manuel which Leo reports as well as the tract he translated for the benefit of cardinal Arduin (see pp. 132–3 and 140) show that many of the differences were questions of practice rather than theology and that both churches might be persuaded to unite against a common opponent.

p. 163 line 13 **Non esse recipienda eo quod de veteri lege sumpta sint**

The charge that they were unwilling to accept the Old Testament or some part of it had been levelled at the Paulicians—who allegedly refused to accept any part of the Old Testament at all,²⁹ and at the Bogomils who accepted the prophetic books, including the Psalms, but not the historical Pentateuch or the other historical books.³⁰

²⁹ Peter of Sicily in Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachrysanthou, J. Paramelle, *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure* (T&M 1, pp. 1–207) c. 42, p. 21.

³⁰ Euthymius Zigabenus, *PG* 130.1292, c. 1; Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p. 198, l. 10–20.

p. 164 line 23 **Manichaeos**

The accusation that Patarines are Manichees is first found here in this text though frequently repeated later. There is no evidence to support the view that this group was linked to the original followers of Manes (see p. 31). Their alleged opposition to the use of the sign of the cross, the sacraments and the veneration of icons would connect them to groups whose opponents described them in these terms. Peter of Sicily not only makes this connection about the Paulicians³¹ but uses lengthy extracts from Cyril of Jerusalem against the original Manichaeans as part of his argument.³²

pp. 164–5 lines 24–31 **Sacra et universalis quarta synodus**

The Council of Chalcedon met in 451 to discuss problems concerning the nature of Christ. The result of irreconcilable differences about this which the council revealed was the Monophysite schism.

p. 165 line 2 **Quasi peccatum ariolandi est repugnare traditioni**

The council issued the following definition:³³

It is unlawful for anyone to bring forward or to write or to compose or to devise or to teach to others any other creed. But those who shall dare either to compose another creed or to introduce or to teach or to deliver another Symbol to persons desiring to come over to the acknowledgement of the truth, whether from paganism or from Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever shall be deposed if they be bishops or clerics—bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clergy—and if they be monks or laymen they shall be anathematised.

p. 165 line 10 **In sacramento coniugii pessima opinione nacti sunt**

From the early years of the church—indeed it might be argued from the period when the New Testament was first being written—see the discussion of marriage at I Corinthians 7—questions of human sexuality in the Christian life aroused an ambivalent response. The desire for vows of virginity on the one hand, which gave expression to the individual's desire for single-minded self-dedication to God, and the realisation that if such vows were widely taken they would

³¹ Peter of Sicily, *Histoire*, p. 13, c. 15.

³² Peter of Sicily, cc. 42–77, pp. 23–35.

³³ Text in translation from R.V. Sellers, *The council of Chalcedon* (1953), p. 227.

lead to the disappearance of the human race created a palpable tension. On the one hand we find forceful arguments for virginity, while in the works of John Chrysostom, himself a monk and emotionally committed to the same cause, but writing after the peace of the church, we find a more nuanced view:

He who denigrates marriage also destroys the reputation of virginity; he who praises it rather elevates the marvel of the other and makes it more splendid.³⁴

Throughout the early centuries there is evidence of the existence of groups who thought that marriage was incompatible with Christianity *per se*, rather than a possible life style choice, one such group was identified and condemned at the council of Braga I (A.D. 561),³⁵ but throughout the Middle Ages the feeling that only an ascetic, continent and unmarried life style approached the life of perfection remained strong. For Hugh in the twelfth century there was an added dimension to the problem. The Greek church accepted marriage not only for the laity but for the parish clergy (bishops were not allowed to marry and thus were normally recruited from monks), though with some restrictions; a priest must marry before he was ordained and if his wife died he was not allowed to remarry. This solved one problem, while increasing the respect felt by the laity for the unmarried monks. The Latin church had come to take up the position that no clergy should marry,³⁶ but scandalized the Greeks by permitting their clergy to go to war.³⁷ The Patarenes of Constantinople who complained of the ineffectual ministries of sinful priests may (though Hugh does not make this clear) have been criticizing them on the grounds that they were breaking the rules of their church.

p. 165 line 13 **Simulacra surda et muta**

This is an allusion to the passage in Psalm 115.4–7 (V. 113b 1–5) where it is said of the statues of pagan gods. The same passage was allegedly used by the Bogomils of Constantinople.³⁸

³⁴ PG 48.540.

³⁵ J. Brundage, *Love, sex and sexuality in the Middle Ages*, p. 140.

³⁶ M. Frassetto, ed. *Medieval Purity and Piety*, *passim*.

³⁷ See the anti-Latin pamphlet which Hugh translated (p. 140), in Hergenroether *Monumenta Graeca ad Photium pertinentia* (1969), c. 3, p. 64.

³⁸ Euthymius Zigabenus, PG 130.1308, c. 11.

p. 166 line 18 **Sed et sacramenti dominici corporis et sanguinis**

Hugh claims that the Patarenes are unorthodox in their attitude to the eucharist in two ways. They hold that priests of sinful life cannot validly consecrate (just as they cannot effectually absolve sinners),³⁹ in addition their view of what happens at the consecration is also unsound. They believe that the eucharistic elements of bread and wine are not, as the orthodox position holds, changed into the body and blood of Christ. Hugh was writing at a time when the familiar terminology of transubstantiation was still in process of becoming established—the word itself occurs for the first time in the writings of Peter Damian, and then in those of Roland Bandinelli, later Pope Alexander III, writing in about 1140, but it did not come into frequent use until the last twenty years of the twelfth century.⁴⁰ Many of Hugh's arguments have impeccable patristic antecedents, with close verbal echoes of earlier authors, but the problem was still being re-examined in the second half of the twelfth century and he produced a contemporary version.

When St. Ambrose wrote on the subject in the *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis* in about 390 he was concerned to emphasize that the bread and wine were transformed by the creative power of Christ:

Quantis utimur exemplis ut probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit sed quod benedictio consecravit, maioremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.

We use examples great enough for us to prove that this is not what nature formed but what blessing consecrated, and that the power of blessing is greater than that of nature since by blessing even nature herself is altered.

The emphasis is on miracle, and the argument relies on the analogy of Old Testament miraculous transformation stories, some of which Hugh repeats, like the serpent/rod of Moses and the bitter waters of Mara. Such arguments presumably satisfied the catechumens of Milan, but by the ninth century another set of problems arose. Granted that 'something' happened when the consecration prayer was recited over the elements, how were they different after the recital? One school of thought argued that they changed, but if this change was taken too literally it presented problems. Was all

³⁹ See p. 158.

⁴⁰ See the article in DTC col. 1288, 1290.

the bread which had ever been consecrated part of the one body of Christ? Did consuming this bread involve some form of cannibalism? What of the normal processes of decay, and of digestion? The other school tried to avoid these unpalatable consequences by emphasizing the spiritual value of the eucharist and were alleged by their opponents to teach that the consecrated elements were good only for the soul. This view is particularly associated with the name of Berengar of Tours, who was obliged first in 1054 and later at the Synod of Rome in 1079 to swear an oath affirming the orthodox position in the words

The bread and wine which are placed upon the altar are changed substantially into the true and proper vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord and after the consecration these are the true body of Christ which was born of the Virgin . . . and the true blood of Christ which flowed from his side not however through sign and in the power of the sacrament but in their real nature and true substance.⁴¹

In the twelfth century the Eastern church too had its doubters, as is apparent from a pamphlet written against them by Nicholas of Methone.⁴² He does not identify his opponents by name as members of any heterodox group, and his arguments are entirely based on quotations from scripture (the gospels and St. Paul) which he suggests only the foolhardy would dare to disbelieve. He may hint at a wider range of doubt in this group when he says that those who are reluctant to believe that the words of consecration effect a change in the eucharistic elements would also doubt the reality of the creative power of Christ and the virgin birth, but he does not name them and the doctrines of Bogomils as identified some fifty years earlier bear only a distant resemblance to those of his opponents here. In any case it would seem that his argument is a simpler one—Christ's role in creation and incarnation were both miraculous; if you disbelieve the transformational power shown in the eucharist you undermine belief in the other miraculous elements of the faith which share the same basis. Nicholas may be the author of an anti-Bogomil tract, the *de demonibus* conventionally attributed to Psellus,⁴³ but that work says nothing of Bogomil dualist teaching as it might

⁴¹ Translation taken from the account in G. Macy, *The theologies of the eucharist in the early scholastic period*, p. 35.

⁴² *PG* 135.509.

⁴³ P. Gautier, 'Le *de demonibus* du Pseudo-Psellos', *REB* 38 (1980), 105–94.

influence their view of the value of the sacraments. The most systematic and detailed description of Bogomil views, the account given by Euthymius Zigabenus⁴⁴ gives more information. He says;

They do not honour the mystic and awful sacrifice and the holy communion of the Lord's body and blood . . . they say that the bread of fellowship is the prayer Our Father . . . similarly they say that the cup of fellowship is the covenant quoted in the gospel.

In applying this allegorical explanation the heretics demonstrate a consistent view of the nature of the created universe in which matter, being evil by nature, can have no connection with the worship of the good God.

There is nothing in Hugh's description of the Patarenes to suggest that they had adopted such a clear cut position; what he reports of them (always provided that his account is accurate and well-informed, which is far from certain) is more like the group targeted by Nicholas of Methone, people who were reluctant to accept that two contradictory descriptions of the eucharistic elements could be simultaneously true. The arguments he uses against them are drawn from the mainstream of Western eucharistic theology as it had developed by the time he was writing, and very largely from St. Ambrose. He repeats other earlier material often almost verbatim; the following passage is a conspicuous example:

Eteriano Hoc sacramentum invisibilis sacerdos in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui secreta potestate convertit.

The unseen priest changes the sacrament into the substance of his body and blood by his hidden power.

*Eusebius Emissenus*⁴⁵ Nam invisibilis sacerdos visibilis creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbo secreta potestate convertit.

For the unseen priest changes the visible creatures into the substance of his body and blood by a secret power, his word.

This passage is also found in the writings of Guitmund of Aversa (d. 1095)⁴⁶ and Durandus of Troarn (d. 1088);⁴⁷ these two writers

⁴⁴ *PG* 130.1289d–1330d.

⁴⁵ So cited by Durandus and Guitmund, for whom see nn. 46, 47 below; modern scholarship attributes the passage to Faustus of Riez.

⁴⁶ *PL* 149.1483d.

⁴⁷ *PL* 149.1403c.

were pupils of Lanfranc and opponents of Berengar. Hugh's account here echoes theirs and that of Ambrose, notably in his use of the miracles of the Exodus narrative—Moses's rod which became a serpent, the water of the Nile which turned to blood, the bitter waters of Mara which became sweet and the passage through the Red Sea. He does not take from Ambrose the story of the disciple of Elisha who dropped his axe into the water⁴⁸ but he does use the story of the heavenly fire which Elijah called down. Durandus backs up his arguments with eucharistic miracle stories just as Hugh does, including a version of the story of the Jewish boy, given a definite Marian colour in this account. Guitmund produces arguments from natural transformations.⁴⁹

Tertiam autem mutationem solemniter cernimus qua videlicet substantiae in eas quae non erant substantias vel naturali usu vel per miracula transeunt; sicut nucleus in arborem, semen in herbam, esca et potus in carnem et sanguinem; vel sicut virga in serpentem, serpens in virgam et cetera huius modi.

There is a third kind of change which we habitually see, by which substances change into substances which they were not, either by nature or miracle, such as a nut into a tree, a seed into a plant, food and drink into flesh and blood, or such as a rod into a snake and a snake into a rod and other things of this kind.

He also uses arguments from contemporary science:⁵⁰

...physici dicentes partem ciborum et potum...subtiliorem et utiliore ut nature per diversos corporis partes distrahi et in carnis naturam et sanguinis versum iri.

...scientists who say that the finer and more useful parts of foods and drinks are naturally distributed through the parts of the body and become changed into the nature of flesh and blood.

This is like Hugh's argument that food is changed by cooking as well as by digestion, and that these changes do not affect our judgement of what is being consumed.

⁴⁸ 2 Kings 6.1–7.

⁴⁹ *PL* 149.1444b.

⁵⁰ *PL* 149.1451b.

p. 167 line 12 **Aspis obturat aurem suam**

The image of the snake is taken from the Psalter, in RSV Ps. 58.4, in the Vulgate 57.5–6. St. Augustine commented on the passage:⁵¹

Surdas quia obturat aures suas quae non exaudiet vocem incantantium et medicamina medicati a sapienti.

Deaf, because she closes her ears which do not listen to the sound of the spells and cures given by the sage.

The image later got into the *Bestiary*.⁵² In both these versions the emphasis is on the behaviour of the snake, not, as here, on the power of the word.

p. 167 line 12 **Coralium postquam in auras**

This is a direct quotation from Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.416–17. I have not found it used elsewhere in the context of eucharistic change.

p. 167 lines 12, 21 **Virgam tenebat Moyses; meatus Nili . . . ; Helye ignem de celo deposuit**

All these examples, taken from Exodus 8 and 1 Kings 18.38 are also cited in Ambrose *de mysteriis* 51.

p. 168 line 7 **Non in merito consecrantis**

Anxiety about the moral status of an officiating priest and its possible effect on the sacraments he offered was not a new concern in the twelfth century nor was it confined to the western church though there is a greater body of western evidence. An example of the eastern material can be found in the remarks of St. Symeon the New Theologian ‘The power to bind and loose, to perform the liturgy and to teach belongs only to those who enact the priesthood of the gospel, not to those ordained only from the hands of men.’ The emphasis here on the spiritual qualities of a priest lays stress on the positive requirements and in this it forms part of the eastern tradition which required instruction by the (spiritually) experienced. The layman Constantine Chrysomallus took this tradition to extremes⁵³

⁵¹ Augustine, *Commentarium in Psalmos* (Corpus Christianorum 39), pp. 714–5.

⁵² E.g. R. Barber, trans and intro., *Bestiary; being an English version of the Bodleian Library Oxford MS Bodley 764 with all the original MSS reproduced in facsimile*, pp. 187–8.

⁵³ J. Gouillard ‘Quatre procès de mystiques a Byzance’, *REB* (1978), pp. 5–81.

in his claim that only the spiritually enlightened could properly be called Christians, and only they could join in public prayer. Greek anti-heretical writers tended to label such views Messalian though there is no evidence of continuity with the historical Messalians.

In the western tradition there is more stress on the negative—that the priestly acts of an open and notorious sinner were ineffectual. A clear indication of this is evident in the story told by Peter the Venerable⁵⁴ that the host disappeared from the hands of a sinful priest and reappeared only after he had performed a lengthy penance. There might be a degree of uncertainty here—writers such as Gerhoh of Reichersberg seem to think that the important question was how far the priest's sinful character was widely known;

Ex his colligitur quod in ecclesia solo corpus Christi praesentatur ubi a sacerdotibus catholicis missa ritu ecclesiastica celebratur. In quorum consortio non reputantur simoniaci et sub excommunicatione interdicti, Nicolaitae videlicet sacerdotes et reliqui altaris ministri manifeste incestuosi.

From this it follows that the body of Christ is only offered in the church when mass is celebrated by catholic priests in the rite of the church. Their number does not include simoniacs and those under interdict, that is priests who are Nicolaitans and other ministers of the altar who are openly unchaste.⁵⁵

Theologically this created problems; since orthodox teaching was that the consecration of the elements was, as Hugh says, effected by Christ himself, the moral character of the human priest ought not to matter, a position clearly stated in the writings of St. Odo of Cluny;⁵⁶

Si malae opinionis sacerdotem audisset, non tamen missae officium ab illo despiciebat quia sciret illud sacrum mysterium non posse per hominem peccatorem deteriorari.

If he (St. Odo is speaking of Gerald, count of Aurillac) heard a priest of bad fame, nevertheless he did not despise his service of the mass because he knew that that sacred mystery could not be demeaned by a human sinner.

Non ergo melior est baptismus per manus cuiusdam sancti hominis quam per manus peccatoris quoniam qualiscumque baptizator sit Jesus

⁵⁴ *PL* 189.85.

⁵⁵ *PL* 194.112 b.

⁵⁶ *PL* 133.678d (*Vita Geraldi* II.14); *PL* 133.533 c–d (*Collationes*).

est qui baptizat. Sic enim et de ministerio sancti altaris debet intelligi quia scilicet et per manus aut iusti aut iniusti consecrat ipse Christus.

Baptism is no better at the hands of some saintly man than at the hands of a sinner since whatever the character of the baptizer may be it is Jesus who baptises. So too we should understand concerning the service of the holy altar since indeed through the hands of the righteous or unrighteous it is Christ himself who consecrates.

And yet, on a human level, the congregation might be disturbed if he were known to be breaking the rules.

p. 168 line 12 **Temporibus imperatoris Arcadii**

The emperor Arcadius reigned 395–408; John Chrysostom was patriarch of Constantinople 398–404.

p. 168 line 14 **Secta heretici Macedonii**

A very similar version of this story is to be found in Sozomen *HE* 8.5, where it forms part of his criticism of the views ascribed to the patriarch of Constantinople Macedonius (342–60). Macedonius had adopted an Arian (or semi-Arian) theological position at a time when the emperor Constantius himself was sympathetic to this.⁵⁷ However he fell foul of the emperor by moving the body of the latter's father Constantine without imperial permission and was forced to resign.⁵⁸ He had founded several monasteries in the city and thus gained personal popularity.⁵⁹ After his death a hostile propaganda associated his followers with the murder of his successor Paul.⁶⁰ These 'Macedonians', otherwise known as *pneumatomachi* because they played down the importance of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, did not accurately represent the views of the patriarch, though later tradition fails to make the distinction.⁶¹ They broke with the orthodox at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and it is in the period after this that the hostile tradition took shape.

This miracle story which is further evidence of a hostile tradition is not found anywhere except in Sozomen, and Schoo, in his study

⁵⁷ For the patriarch and his views see Socrates *HE* 44; for a more hostile account Rufinus *HE* 1.25.

⁵⁸ Sozomen *HE* 2.42; W. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, p. 193.

⁵⁹ Sozomen *HE* 4.2,3; 20.2; 27.

⁶⁰ Sozomen *HE* 4.1.

⁶¹ R. Hanson, *The search for the Christian doctrine of God*, pp. 760–72.

of Sozomen's sources⁶² records it as an 'oral tradition'. If it has any evidential value it is that the memory of Macedonius was still alive a generation after his deposition.

Much of the material from Sozomen was incorporated (together with that of Socrates and Theodoret) into the so-called *Historia tripartita*, translated into Latin by Cassiodorus with the help of Epiphanius,⁶³ which provided a history of the doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, but this story is not included. Though the *Historia tripartita* was a popular work which Hugh may well have encountered in the West he must have read a complete Sozomen in the original Greek to know this material. Some of his other miracle *exempla* have been found in the proceedings of Councils, especially Nicaea II, or the *florilegia* associated with them, but this story does not seem to have found its way into any surviving collections, presumably because the underlying theological controversy—the position of Arian or semi-Arian clergy in Constantinople in the last quarter of the fourth century—had lost its relevance, though the central idea, that only validly ordained priests could consecrate, retained its force.

p. 169 line 2 **Iudeus quidam erat vitrifex**

The story of the miraculous preservation and conversion of a Jewish boy who had eaten a consecrated host had a long life and wide distribution in both East and West, from Evagrius⁶⁴ and Gregory of Tours⁶⁵ in the sixth century to Agapius of Crete in the seventeenth. Though the basic outline of the story remains the same throughout there are some significant variations of detail. An examination of these different accounts goes some way towards suggesting where Hugh might have encountered the story.

Eugen Wolter, in his late nineteenth century survey of the material⁶⁶ listed 19 versions known to him; to these should be added the Greek version published by Mioni.⁶⁷

⁶² G. Schoo, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos*, p. 153.

⁶³ Edited by W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, *CSEL* 71; see also W. Berschin *Greek Letters in the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Frakes, p. 78.

⁶⁴ *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus*, trans. and intro. M. Whitby, here pp. 241–2 and note 117.

⁶⁵ *The glory of the martyrs*, ed. and trans. R. van Dam, I 9, pp. 29–31.

⁶⁶ 'Der Judenknabe' in *Bibliotheca Nordmannica* II, ed. H. Suchier.

⁶⁷ 'Il Pratum spirituale di Giovanni Mosco', *OCP* 17 (1950) 61–94, at pages 93–4.

A similar tale with significant differences of detail can be found in *The spiritually beneficial tales of Paul, bishop of Monemvasia*⁶⁸ tale 21. Mioni alludes to the existence of versions in Armenian, Syriac and Coptic, which I am not competent to discuss and which in any case it is not likely that Hugh would have encountered except in Greek or Latin translations. For a general discussion of the material see also Miri Rubin *Gentile Tales; the narrative assaults on late medieval Jewry* ch. 2. The story elements which need particular consideration are the following:

1. The localisation of the events.
2. The circumstances which provoked the father's anger.
3. How the boy was preserved and rescued.
4. The father's punishment.

The majority of the versions (all the Greek and nine of the Latin) put the events 'in the east'. A group of later versions (Wolter 10, 13, 16, 18, 19) localise the story to Bourges in central France. Mioni XII⁶⁹ shares with Hugh the specific localisation in Constantinople and the detail that the boy was in the cathedral school there.⁷⁰ Some Latin versions (Wolter 11, 15, 16) also include the school, no doubt as a useful plot device to explain the circumstances in which Jewish and Christian children might meet one another. In the Latin accounts from Gregory of Tours onwards the church, if identified, is dedicated to the Virgin Mary rather than being 'the Great Church' (S. Sophia) as in Mioni and Hugh.

In every version the boy has in some sense partaken of communion. The idea that the consecrated elements might be distributed by the sacristan and the boys consume these 'left-overs' obviously worried the authors of some versions. In Gregory of Tours (= Wolter 6) and the other Latin accounts with the exception of Wolter 15 the boy receives communion from a priest, or, in Wolter 16, from the Virgin Mary herself. All versions agree that the boy was thrown into a furnace by his irate father, and found later by his mother,

⁶⁸ *The spiritually beneficial tales of Paul, bishop of Monemvasia*, intro, trans. and comm. J. Wortley, pp. 214–5; the Jewish boy story may not be part of the original collection, see Wortley's introduction.

⁶⁹ Mioni, 'Il *Pratum spirituale*', p. 93.

⁷⁰ For the existence and personnel of this institution see R. Browning, 'The patriarchal school at Constantinople in the twelfth century', *Byzantion* 32 (1962), pp. 167–202; 33 (1963), pp. 11–40.

with or without the assistance of 'Christians'. When asked how he had survived the flames the boy describes his preservation by a 'lady dressed in purple'. In the Latin tradition she is explicitly identified as the Virgin, either named as such or described as 'the lady whose portrait I saw in the church with a child in her lap.'

All agree that the wicked father came to a bad end, but again Greek and Latin versions diverge. The earlier Greek versions (Wolter 1, 2, 3) involve the emperor, while Agapius and the majority of the Latin accounts describe lynch law—the angry mob throw the father in turn into the furnace. Evagrius and Mioni XII agree in naming the emperor as Justinian and the patriarch who appears in their account as Menas, which is chronologically possible (Justinian reigned from 527–65; Menas was patriarch 536–42). Hugh names the emperor as Justin, which does not work chronologically, but he and Mioni XII agree in describing a two-stage conclusion in which the boy's mother goes first to the patriarch and is taken by him to the emperor. Only after the emperor has interrogated the father and attempted to convert him is he condemned to death on his refusal to convert.

Finally we should consider the rather different story in the tales of Paul of Monemvasia and Vienna MS theol.gr. 178, pp. 301b–304b, which have the Jewish boy and his Christian friends meet in a rural setting, either a picnic or while tending sheep, have the children 'consecrate' the eucharist in play as part of a game, and the Jewish child thrown into the furnace of a bath-house where he is discovered when the bath water is unexpectedly cold. The eucharistic theology here is even more difficult than the 'left-overs' of Hugh and Mioni XII.

It will be apparent from this cursory account that Hugh's version is much nearer to the Greek than to the Latin tradition. The version of the *Pratum Spirituale* from which Mioni XII is drawn was translated into Latin by John the Monk⁷¹ but Mioni claims that this version had a very limited distribution and it seems altogether more likely that Hugh found his source in Constantinople than in Italy. Although there is some evidence that the work of Evagrius was known to Gregory of Tours⁷² their two versions of this story differ at almost every point and these differences persist in the Latin tra-

⁷¹ *Liber de miraculis*, ed. P.M. Huber. The author made his translation in the tenth century while at the 'monastery of the Panagioton' at Constantinople.

⁷² A. Cameron, 'The Byzantine sources of Gregory of Tours', *JTS* 26, pp. 421–6.

dition. The emphasis on the protective role of the Virgin is far more explicit in the western accounts, perhaps because the cult of the Three Holy Children, saved by an angel from the midst of the King of Babylon's burning fiery furnace (Daniel 3.19–30), whose feast was celebrated on December 17 would have had more resonance to an Eastern audience. In his notes to his translation of the tales of Paul of Monemvasia Wortley⁷³ refers to the tradition of interpreting the events of Daniel 3 as a prefiguration of the passion, death and resurrection of Christ. The western versions which link the preservation of the Jewish boy to the Easter season, or which present his incarceration in the furnace as lasting three days have the same underlying theme.

p. 170 line 5 **Ymagines percusse sanguinem ex se funderent** Although Hugh says he will not list the miracles worked by icons in fact he makes allusions to individual icons and the stories told of them which would have been familiar and recognisable to a contemporary audience eastern or western.⁷⁴ He begins with icons which bled when struck. The best known of these was the miracle of Beirut. An icon of Christ which had been left by oversight in a rented room was damaged by the new (Jewish) tenant and bled copiously. The blood was preserved and worked miracles. This story figures in the proceedings of Nicaea II⁷⁵ where it is cited from a sermon there attributed to St. Athanasius (the attribution is now disputed). A miracle working icon was later preserved in the church of the Saviour in Beirut, but Pringle does not think that many authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries believed that it was still there in their time.⁷⁶

Equally well known in Constantinople where Hugh was writing was the 'image of the mother of God stabbed with a knife' in S. Sophia. In the church among many other relics there was the coping of the well on which Christ had sat to talk to the Samaritan woman, and on a hook nearby hung an icon. In the earlier versions of the story this was an icon of Christ, later versions make it an

⁷³ *The spiritually beneficial tales*, pp. 214–5.

⁷⁴ For a modern discussion of some miracle working icons and their social role within the church see R. Cormack, 'Miraculous icons in Byzantium and their powers', *Arte Cristiana* 76 (1988), pp. 55–60.

⁷⁵ Nicaea II in Mansi 13.24C–32A; 580C–585A; see also Gregory of Tours *De gloria martyrum* 22.

⁷⁶ D. Pringle *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, I, A–K, p. 117.

icon of the Virgin and the Christ child. A Jew (again) tried to damage the icon by sticking a knife into it, but so much blood poured out that he was splattered. In a panic he threw the icon into the well, whose water turned blood colour. At this he felt obliged to confess his guilt and be converted. The local popularity of this story is evident from the survival of a number of lead seals showing the Virgin and child with an identifying inscription and a prayer for help,⁷⁷ and the references to it in the tourist guides published by K.N. Ciggaar.⁷⁸ There is a Latin miracle collection which includes this story, written by John the Monk⁷⁹ but Mioni says this was not widely known in the west.

Some of the curative virtues of icons were more widely distributed, whether the diseases cured were physical or the result of demonic possession. One such was the icon of the Virgin at Saidnaya, which exuded a healing oil, widely available because distributed by pilgrims.⁸⁰

p. 170 line 20 **Mulier quae a fluxu sanguinis apud Lucham liberatur**

Christ's miraculous cure of a woman with a flow of blood is found in all the synoptic gospels (Mt. 9.24, Mk. 6.25, Lk. 9.43). The account in Luke is rather fuller than in the other two. The legend that she set up an *ex-voto* statue of Christ and herself in thanksgiving, with or without the detail of the healing plant that grew round it,⁸¹ exists in various versions and is briefly alluded to in the proceedings of Nicaea II.⁸² The earliest of these accounts is to be found in Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.18, in a part of his work which is largely dependent on Dionysius of Alexandria⁸³ with extra material. This account

⁷⁷ G.P. Galavaris, 'The mother of God stabbed with a knife' *DOP* 13 (1959), pp. 229–33.

⁷⁸ K.N. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarraconensis 55', *REB* 53 (1995), pp. 117–40, especially p. 123, line 164, and 'Une description de Constantinople par un pelerin anglais', *REB* 34 (1976), pp. 221–248.

⁷⁹ See n. 71 above.

⁸⁰ B. Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaya: an orthodox shrine venerated by Muslims and Knights Templar at the time of the crusades', *Studies in church history* 26 (2000), pp. 207–15.

⁸¹ For another example of a healing plant associated with a shrine see Pausanias II 10.5.

⁸² Mansi 13.14.

⁸³ R.M. Grant, *Eusebius as church historian*, pp. 20–21.

may well be among this extra material; Eusebius claims to have seen the statue with his own eyes, reasonably since he was bishop of Caesarea Philippi from 314 to his death in 339/40. The story as told in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* says nothing of the destruction of the statue, and little of the healing plant which grew at its feet. The account of its destruction on the orders of Maximin is found in his commentary on Luke,⁸⁴ a commentary reconstructed by Mai from the material contained in catenae which he found in several Vatican MSS (for this see the introduction to the *PG* text). Eusebius also describes Maximin as a persecuting emperor in his narrative of the martyrs of Palestine.⁸⁵

An alternative tradition puts the blame on the anti-Christian emperor Julian. In one version, that of Philostorgius,⁸⁶ the statue, once set up, was ignored and neglected for some years and the dedicatory inscription was covered with rain-washed silt. When the local Christians realised what it was they took it into the church but the rival pagan group, emboldened by Julian's change of official religious policy, dragged it out and smashed it up though some fragments of the head were preserved. Philostorgius claims to have seen them. In yet a third version, that of Sozomen, the statue was replaced by Julian with a statue of himself, which was destroyed by a lightning strike. Again, fragments of the original statue were rescued and preserved in the church.

Hugh's version resembles the Eusebian commentary more closely than it does any of the others. Though miracles associated with the statue are referred to in the proceedings of Nicaea II the information there is concerned to focus on the fact that the *ex-voto* took the form of a statue rather than to dwell on what happened to the statue later. This part of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Sozomen is included in the *Historia tripartita* (see above p. 214), but it is evident from the story of the communion of Macedonius that Hugh could and did read Sozomen in Greek, and in any case the *Historia tripartita* version is not the one he uses. Whether he read the Eusebian commentary in its entirety or found the relevant passage in a catena must remain a matter for speculation.

⁸⁴ *PG* 24.541.

⁸⁵ Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* 3.7–6.6.

⁸⁶ *PG* 65.537.

p. 171 line 7 **Princeps Edessenorum**

Edessa and its talismans had a long history at the time when Hugh was writing. Initially the city had claimed to possess a letter written by Christ to King Abgar⁸⁷ and later that in this letter Christ had promised to preserve the city from all attack. In the second half of the sixth century when repeated Persian invasions had rendered promises of this kind less convincing the talisman changed, and from being a miraculous letter became a miracle working picture of Christ. In the history of Evagrius Scholasticus,⁸⁸ writing before 593, this picture, the Mandylion, works a miracle by destroying a Persian siege mound, but Evagrius does not give a detailed version of the story of the picture's arrival, saying only that Christ had sent the portrait to Abgar when he yearned to see him, which suggests that he knew the longer version whose account linked the picture and the earlier letter though he is not concerned here to spell it out. In the versions of Hugh and (more elaborate) of Constantine Porphyrogenitus King Abgar wrote to Christ asking him to come to Edessa and cure the king's chronic illness. The talisman letter was Christ's immediate response, followed after the resurrection by the sending of the miraculous image. For its genuine popularity there is evidence in the proceedings of Nicaea II⁸⁹ which recommended the restoration of the cult of images, and in a slightly earlier Syriac source.⁹⁰

In the so-called Constantine Porphyrogenitus account⁹¹ which appears to have been Hugh's main source the story line is as follows. Abgar of Edessa heard of Christ's miraculous healing powers and wrote asking him to come to Edessa, or failing that to send his picture. The letter which was the immediate response was given to Abgar's emissary Ananias by the apostle Thomas. Ananias washed Christ's face and obtained the miraculous imprint on the towel with which he dried it. As he returned to Edessa he had occasion to conceal the towel among some unbaked tiles in a tileyard on the outskirts of Hierapolis. In the following night there was a supernatural

⁸⁷ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.13.

⁸⁸ *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus*, ed. M. Whitby, and see n. 93.

⁸⁹ Mansi 13.192.

⁹⁰ H.J.W. Drijvers, 'The image of Edessa in the Syriac tradition' in *The Holy Face and the paradox of representation*, ed. H.L. Kessler and G. Wolf, pp. 27–8; 'The Abgar legend' in W. Scheelmecher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (trans. R.M. Wilson) pp. 492–500.

⁹¹ *PG* 113.432–54.

fire, and then the revelation that the image of the holy face had been transferred to one of the tiles. This tile, the story continues, is still preserved at Hierapolis. Then follows the story of the Mandylion in the version known to Hugh, that the imprint of Christ's face was transferred by him to a towel in Gethsemane and brought to Edessa, again by Thomas and also by Thaddaeus. These two disciples were credited with bringing Christianity to Edessa and their bodies were allegedly buried there.⁹² The towel was presented to Abgar, whose infirmities it healed, and set up over the city gate in the place of a statue of an unnamed pagan god. From this honourable position it was removed by Abgar's great-grandson who had reverted to paganism, but concealed for safety by the bishop in a niche with a lamp in front of it, the whole covered by a tile and plastered over. Its hiding place was miraculously revealed to bishop Eulalius when the city was threatened with a Persian attack; acting on the instructions revealed to him in a dream he sprinkled the oil from the lamp on the Persian siege engines which were burnt. Evidence for these events is allegedly to be found in the material included in the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*.⁹³

After its rediscovery the image continued to work miracles, and as its reputation grew so did the desire to move it to Constantinople despite local opposition. Finally in 944 it was agreed that it should be exchanged for some Saracen captives. The journey to Constantinople was also accompanied by miracles—a ferry which crossed the Euphrates without a pilot only the first of many. A dumb man whose speech it restored prophesied that Constantine Porphyrogenitus would be emperor. Although he had been born in the purple as son of Leo VI (886–912) and had become emperor as a child in 913 Romanus I (920–44) had seized power during his minority and

⁹² For St. Thomas see the account in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* 17.1, 19 (*SC* 296); for St. Thaddaeus (or in the Syriac versions Addai) see Eusebius *HE* 1.13, 2, 16–18, a detail which is included in Rufinus's translation of Eusebius. For Thaddaeus as transporter of the sacred towel see *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* ed. Boor, 740. MS B of the *Contra Patarenos* reads 'Matthaeum' here—an apparent slip.

⁹³ For this work and a discussion of its historicity see *The letter of the three patriarchs to emperor Theophilus and related texts*, edited J. Munitiz, J. Chrysostomides, E. Harralia-Crook and Ch. Dendrinis. For the view that the account of the siege of Edessa in Evagrius was interpolated from it in the eighth century see J. Chrysostomides, pp. xxiv–xxviii, *contra* M. Whitby, *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Appendix II, pp. 323–6.

would not relinquish it when Constantine came of age. In the version of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which may have been preached in front of the emperor the dumb man's speech serves (together with the other miracles) to validate his claim to be sole emperor as he became after Romanus died shortly after the Mandyllion arrived. He made use of images associating himself with the Mandyllion, as can be seen from the Sinai icon of King Abgar, with its likeness to the image of Constantine on his coins.⁹⁴ Markopoulos argues⁹⁵ that the intention was to underline a parallel between Constantine the Great who had discovered the true cross and Constantine VII and another relic of the passion. This version⁹⁶ appears to antedate the transportation of the Keramidion (the sacred tile venerated at Hierapolis) to Constantinople in 966 as it includes this tile in the Edessa story but makes no further mention of it.

The actual handover of the relic had been negotiated by John Kourkouas on behalf of the emperor Romanus, but as we have already seen the miracles attendant on its arrival included a prophecy that Constantine would reign. The celebrations which followed its arrival—first at the Blachernae palace, then a ceremonial display and tour of the city, on foot and in barges round the sea-walls, its processional *adventus* down the *Mese* to the Forum of Augustus, by way of the throne-room of the Great Palace and St. Sophia to the palace chapel of the Pharos—all are similar to the description of the triumphal arrival some twenty years later of the Keramidion, the Hierapolis tile.⁹⁷

Now it is apparent from the Constantine Porphyrogenitus version that there had been two *acheiropoeta* images of Christ in north Syria, one on cloth and one on terracotta. So far as I know the combination of these two into one story is not found before the twelfth century. Hugh makes the link but it is also found in Greek versions printed by Dobschutz.⁹⁸ It was obviously convenient that the mirac-

⁹⁴ See the icon from the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt Sinai and the article by K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandyllion and Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *Cahiers archéologiques* 11 (1960), 163–84.

⁹⁵ A. Markopoulos, 'Constantine the great in Macedonian historiography: models and approaches' in P. Magdalino, ed. *New Constantines* (Society for the promotion of Byzantine Studies, 2), pp. 159–70.

⁹⁶ *PG* 113.430.

⁹⁷ F. Halkin, 'Le translation par Nicéphore Phocas de la brique miraculeuse d'Hierapolis', *Subsidia Hagiographica* 38, pp. 253–60; Yahya of Antioch, trans. I. Kratchovskiy and A. Vasiliev, *PO* 18.5.

⁹⁸ Dobschutz, *Christusbilder* II, source 1, pp. 63, 65.

ulous tile of Hierapolis (where the original cloth vanishes from the story) and the miraculous cloth of Edessa, concealed behind its tile, should be combined into one composite miraculous relic. The physical relics remained separate, as Robert of Clari describes them hanging in the imperial chapel in 1204; ‘deux rikes vaisseux d’or qui pendoient en mi le capele a deux grosses chaines d’argent; en l’un de ces vaisseux si avoit un tuile, et en l’autre une toiale’⁹⁹—relics which came into the possession of Baldwin II, Latin emperor of Constantinople, and after him in 1247 into that of St. Louis.

Though both the Keramidion and the Mandylyon arrived with such pomp and were used as propaganda for the emperors responsible for their arrival there is little evidence that they attracted significant popular cult in the next two centuries; certainly they do not always appear in the lists of relics which western pilgrims were expected to admire,¹⁰⁰ and the icons used as battle talismans are images of the Virgin.¹⁰¹

If this lack of popular cult is true, where did Hugh get his material and why did he think the story of the Mandylyon an appropriate choice for his argument? Certainty is impossible but the Mandylyon does have a high profile in the proceedings of Nicaea II and in the Letter of the Three Patriarchs.¹⁰² This latter document purports to be a letter sent by the patriarchs of the East to the iconoclast emperor Theophilos, reporting their deliberations at a council held in Jerusalem in 836 which supported the iconophile position. It lists a number of miracle working icons, from the time of Christ onwards, of which the Mandylyon is among the earliest. They also list a number of bleeding and/or self-defending icons, to which Hugh alludes briefly and without detail later in his pamphlet (see p. 170). The most recent discussion of this work (see n. 93 above) supports the view that as it stands the document is not an authentic record, but

⁹⁹ *Le trésor de la Sainte Chapelle* exhibition catalogue, J. Durand, M.-P. Lafitte and D. Giovanetti, p. 70.

¹⁰⁰ K.N. Ciggaar, ‘Tarrakonensis 55’ may explain this. There it says that the Mandylyon was kept in a golden casket and never shown to anyone, even the emperor, because it was believed that if it were put on general display an earthquake would destroy the city. This conveniently explains and justifies its relative unpopularity.

¹⁰¹ A. Weyl, ‘Court culture and cult icons in middle Byzantine Constantinople’, *Byzantine Court Culture 829–1204*, ed. H. Maguire, pp. 81–100.

¹⁰² For its inclusion in earlier anti-heretical writing see Euthymius of the Periblepton (Ficker, p. 83, lines 1–2) where the Mandylyon and the tile appear together with other miraculous icons, like the portrait of the Virgin painted by St. Luke.

Munitiz dates the earliest MSS to the late ninth century, which would put its composition not long after its alleged date. Like the Khludov psalter to which it has been linked it would be a product of iconophile triumphalism after the restoration of the icons in 843.

Hugh's account of the relic is taken from a Greek source, but he was writing at a time when the veneration of a passion relic which took the form of a piece of cloth to which the face of Christ had been miraculously transferred was beginning to gain popularity in the West. If we assume that his intended audience included members of the Italian expatriate community they might have known of the Volto Santo of Lucca¹⁰³—a cross allegedly carved by Nicodemus on Calvary which contained within it a small cloth with the face of Christ, or of the 'sudarium quod vocatur Veronica', the 'sudarium cum quo Christus faciem suam extersit quod ab aliis Veronica dicitur' to which Benedict Canonicus and Peter the deacon refer in describing relics in Rome.¹⁰⁴ Western sources do not mention the Edessa/Hierapolis background (with the exception of Gervase of Tilbury, who makes the connection between the Lucca image and that of Edessa but says nothing of the presence of the Edessan relic at Constantinople).¹⁰⁵ There Hugh's account leaves it, a miracle-working relic which was well chosen to appeal to the church of the Greeks and Latins, as was the intention of his whole pamphlet, encouraging them to unite to fight the heretics.

p. 172 line 26 **Ut inviolatum thesaurum**

For this phrase as used to describe the Mandylion see also the canon for the feast as it was observed in the eleventh century, which also has the phrase 'invictum propugnaculum'.¹⁰⁶ For 'inexhaustas divitias' compare the use of *akenotos thesauros* in Dobschutz, Beilage IIB, p. 73.**¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ See J.C. Schmitt, 'Cendrillon crucifiée a propos du *Volto Santo* de Lucques' in *Miracles, Prodiges et merveilles du Moyen Age*.

¹⁰⁴ *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 90; *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, vol. III, pp. 318–73, 375–442.

¹⁰⁵ *Otia imperialis*, pp. 184–9.

¹⁰⁶ V. Grumel, 'Leon de Chalcédoine et le canon de la fête du Saint Mandylion', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 135–52, on page 147 lines 111, 128.

¹⁰⁷ Dobschutz, *Christusbilder*.

p. 173 line 8 **Augusti Sexta decima**

There is liturgical evidence, for which see Grumel (n. 106) that the feast of the Mandyllion continued to be celebrated on August 16. In the late eleventh century the Mandyllion took precedence over the octave of the Assumption and St. Diomedes, the martyr whose feast had earlier been celebrated on that day. By the twelfth century the order was Assumption, Mandyllion, St. Diomedes. Evelyne Patlagean¹⁰⁸ suggests that the date chosen for the original arrival, August 15, was intended to emphasize the role of the Mandyllion as linked to, if not replacing, the Virgin in her role as protector of the city and the emperor. For potential rivalry between these two talismans see also A.-M. Weyl Carr¹⁰⁹ who cites an inscription used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus about the Mandyllion as used by Basil II for an icon of the Virgin.

p. 173 line 20 **De honore . . . crucis exhibenda**

In hostile accounts it is claimed that Eastern heretical groups, both Paulicians and Bogomils, rejected the veneration paid to the cross by the orthodox. When challenged Paulicians claimed to honour the cross but (or so the orthodox alleged) understood by this the figure of Christ with arms outstretched.¹¹⁰ The Bogomils more straightforwardly claimed that the cross was the symbol of Christ's passion and as such resembled any other gallows.¹¹¹

John of Damascus¹¹² is evidence that a degree of unease might be felt even among the orthodox about possible superstitions attached to images of the cross. He is careful to point out that the cross is venerated because of Christ, but that the pieces of wood if dismantled are no longer to be revered, and quotes a sermon of Leontius of Neapolis in Cyprus in support of this view:

As long as the wooden parts (*ta xyla*) of the cross are joined together I venerate the image (*to typon*) for Christ who was crucified on it, but when they are separated from one another I throw them away and

¹⁰⁸ E. Patlagean, 'L'entrée de la sainte face d'Edesse a Constantinople en 944' in *La religion civique a l'époque médiévale et moderne* (1995), ed. A. Vauchez, pp. 21–34.

¹⁰⁹ A.-M. Weyl Carr, 'Court culture and cult icons in middle Byzantine Constantinople' in *Byzantine court culture 829–1204*, ed. Maguire, pp. 81–100.

¹¹⁰ Peter of Sicily, c. 41, p. 21; Peter Higoumenos, c. 13, p. 88.

¹¹¹ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Dogmatic Panoply* PG 130.1309–11; Euthymius of the Periblepton, Ficker, *Phundagiagiten*, p. 74.

¹¹² John of Damascus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, ed. Kotter vol. III, p. 179.

burn them. Just as someone who receives the emperor's order under seal and kisses the seal does not honour the material, the lead or the parchment, but intends honour and veneration to the emperor, so we Christians when we venerate the cross do not venerate the natural material, but the seal and sealing and image of Christ himself. We look through it at him who was crucified on it and so kiss and venerate it.

This should be compared with Hugh's 'crucem ex duobus coniungi'. Hugh's Patarenes have a rather more sophisticated argument. They do not attack the veneration of the cross *per se* but ask 'Why the cross? Why not the other instruments of the passion?' It may not be coincidental that the other passion instruments which appear in Hugh's list also appear among the passion relics kept in the imperial collection (with the exception of the donkey).¹¹³ It is clear from the text that Hugh has had to think of an answer to this variation on the opposition position; he calls his brother Leo to back him in a very literal interpretation of Colossians 2.14.

p. 175 line 23 **Laurentius levita**

The story of the martyrdom of the deacon Laurence gained great popularity from the fourth century onwards especially in Rome where his tomb was displayed.¹¹⁴ The cult was also well-known in the Greek world where at least 10 lives are recorded,¹¹⁵ and where a church dedicated to him is known from the mid-fifth century.¹¹⁶ His life story usually involves three elements; that he healed the sick, especially the blind, that when challenged to produce the wealth of the church he brought forward a number of beggars whom it supported, and that he was tortured to death on a red-hot gridiron. All are included in the Greek life printed by Halkin.

¹¹³ William of Tyre (p. 944) gives an account of King Amalric of Jerusalem being shown the passion relics on his visit to Constantinople in 1171, as a diplomatic honour. He was shown the cross, nails, lance, sponge, reed, crown of thorns, shroud and sandals. I owe this reference to Prof. M. Barber.

¹¹⁴ H. Delehaye, *Origines du culte des martyres* p. 427.

¹¹⁵ F. Halkin, 'Passion de Saint Laurence (et des SS Abdon et Sennen, Xyste II et Hippolyte)' in *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Subsidia Hagiographica 38); for other Greek versions see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* III (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a).

¹¹⁶ R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, pp. 300–4.

p. 176 line 17 **Nigra theta**

Hugh's final request is that the Patarines should be marked with this sign, presumably as the first letter of the Greek word *thanatos* (death). For the use of tattooing or branding in a penal context see C.P. Jones 'Stigma: tattooing and branding' in *JRS* 77 (1987), pp. 139–55. This article covers the use of penal tattooing and branding from the classical period onwards, and cites the story told by the chronicler Zonaras (Dindorf 3.409) of the emperor Theophilus's tattooing of his theological opponents with a lengthy poem—the description of the method in Zonaras makes it clear that tattooing is what was done. Hugh may also have in mind the description in Revelation 13.16 of the wicked who have the mark of the beast on their foreheads.

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BIBLICAL INDEX

<i>Genesis</i>		7.15–16	25
2.17	174	7.22	158
2.23	165	9.24	218
2.24	18 n. 79	10.7–8	198
9.16	165	10.27	156
21.22	161	19.10–12	166
22.16	160	22.30	44
24.1–2, 7, 9	160	23.2	141, 158
47.29	161		
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Mark</i>	
2.21	161	1.2	162
8	211	6.25	218
22.10–11	162	14.22	166, 167
		14.23	166
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		<i>Luke</i>	
6.16	164	3.23	163
8.3	164	9.43	218
<i>1 Kings</i>		22.44	171
18.38	211	24.50–1	175
<i>2 Kings</i>		<i>John</i>	
6.1–7	210	1.17	164
<i>Proverbs</i>		6.51	33
9.1	100	6.54	167
		6.55	166
<i>Psalms</i>		<i>Acts</i>	
58.4 (= Vulgate	211	1.21–6	95
57.5–6)		19.14	198
115.4–7 (= Vulgate	206	19.29	33
113b 1–5)		<i>Romans</i>	
<i>Daniel</i>		1.9	161
2.34	163	7.12	164
3.19–30	217	7.22	164
<i>Matthew</i>		<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
1.1	163	1.20, 23	174
4.4	164	7 <i>passim</i>	205
4.10	164	7.3	166
5.32	44, 166	7.9	71
5.34	44, 198, 200	7.28	166
5.34–5	159	11.27–30	71
5.34–7	71	12.7–10	156
6.6	196	<i>2 Corinthians</i>	
7.15	72	8.18–19	33

<i>Galatians</i>		5.12	71, 198, 200
6.14	174	5.16	71
<i>Philippians</i>		<i>1 Peter</i>	
1.1	59	3.1, 6	164
<i>Colossians</i>		<i>1 John</i>	
2.14	174	10–11	156
3.14	226	<i>2 John</i>	
<i>1 Timothy</i>		7	92
3.1–13	59	<i>Jude</i>	
3.2–7	71	11	164
4.1,3	22	12	162
<i>Titus</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
1.7–9	71	1.4–3, 22	86
<i>Hebrews</i>		3.7–13	58
2.13	165	9.1–4	91
<i>James</i>		9.11, 14–15	61
2.23	164	10.5–6	161
2.25	164	13.11, 16–17	27

GENERAL INDEX

- Abgar, king of Edessa 147, 220–1
Ad abolendam 9, 22–4
 Adhemar of Valence 110
 Agapius of Crete 214
 Agnes of France, wife of Alexius II 140
 Aimery of Limoges, Latin Patriarch of Antioch 124, 129–30, 149
 Alberic of Mont Ste. Geneviève 109
 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines 69
 Alberto of Bolso, consul of Pisa 122
 Alexander II, Pope 3
 Alexander III, Pope 6–8, 13, 23, 29, 76–7, 113, 122, 127, 129, 132–5, 138, 149, 207
 Alexius I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor 1, 11, 13, 29, 41, 45, 51, 59, 77–8, 142, 201
 Alexius II, Byzantine Emperor 117, 140, 194
 Alfonso II, king of Aragon 128–9
 Ambrose, St. 123, 126, 131, 148, 193, 207, 209–11
 Anastasius of Sinai 138–9
 Andronicus I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor 92, 141
 Anna Comnena, historian 41, 44, 55, 58
 Anselm of Alessandria, inquisitor 56
 His *Tractatus de hereticis* 56–8, 60–1, 63, 65, 67, 69–70, 73–5, 77–80, 84–5, 88, 90, 92–3, 96
 Anselm of Havelberg 111 and n. 14
 Apocryphal texts, used by Cathars and Bogomils 5, 39–40
 Arcadius, Roman Emperor 213
 Arduin, Cardinal of Sta. Croce 103, 107, 140, 150, 204
 Arian heresy 213–4
Ariani of Toulouse 6, 8, 70
 Aristotle 109, 111
 Arnaldistas, heresy of 9, 22
 Arnold of Brescia 23–4
 Astafortis, Byzantine tax official 136, 204
 ‘Athanasian’ creed 115–6
 rejected by Byzantine church 119
 Athanasius, St. 217
 Augustine of Hippo, St. 10, 30, 108, 123–4, 131, 156, 177, 197, 199–200
 Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople 147, 223
 Basil the Great, St. 123, 125, 132, 138
 Basil I, Byzantine Emperor 32, 34
 Basil II, Byzantine Emperor 38, 41, 49, 58, 225
Basilica, Byzantine law-code 195, 203
 Beirut, bleeding icon of 145, 217
 Berengar of Tours 208, 210
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St. 6, 30, 70, 110
 Bernard, Cardinal Bishop of Porto 130, 132
 Bestiary, The 211
 Bilino Polje, Agreement of (1203) 65
 Boëthius 109–10
 Bogomils 35–56, 143, 147
 asceticism 36–7
 canon of Scripture 42, 48, 100, 204
 Commentary on St. Matthew’s Gospel 42
 Bogomil churches
 Bulgaria 5, 29, 35–8, 49–51, 57, 59–60, 66, 69–70, 74–5, 77–9, 83, 87, 89–92, 94–99
 Bishop of Sofia 59–60, 90
 Constantinople 38–42, 48–9, 51, 60–1, 63, 65–6, 77–8, 83, 86, 94, 96–97, 99
 Drugunthia 51–7, 59, 77–9, 83–4, 86, 89–90, 93–99
 Absolute dualist faith of 54
 Bishop, Simeon/Symeon 78, 93–4
 Melenguia 83, 86–7
 Philadelphia in Romania 57–8, 97
 Congregations in Attica and Boeotia 87
 elsewhere in Byzantium 1–3, 38–49, 114, 196, 206, 208–9
 in Philippopolis 55

- hierarchy 58–60, 78
 infiltration of Orthodox monasteries
 38, 41, 44
 leaders
 Bogomil, *pop* 35, 37, 50
 John Tzurillas 58
 Basil, doctor 1, 29, 41, 48,
 50–1, 55, 58–60, 77, 195
 Nicetas, *papas* 77–80, 82–95, 99,
 101
 links with Cathars 56–98
 mitigated dualist faith 35–6, 39,
 42–4, 48, 50–1
 outward conformity to Orthodoxy
 37, 40, 45
 refusal to honour icons 43
 or the Holy Cross 43–4, 225
 rite of initiation 40, 43
 use of mythology 39–40, 42–3
 Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch 130
 Bologna, schools of 109
 Bonacursus of Milan 24, 27
 Boril, Tsar of Bulgaria 49–51
 Bosnia 3, 63–6
 rulers of; Stephen Thomas, king 53
 Kulin, *ban* 64–5
Bougres, French name for Cathars 67,
 69–70
 Buddhism 31
 Bulgarian paganism 37
 Burgundio of Pisa 111, 122, 124–6,
 131 n. 65, 138, 203
 Byzantine heresy laws 21, 46–8, 195,
 227

 Calixtus III, antipope 7–8, 128–9
 Cappadocian bishops, tried for
 Bogomilism 46
 Cassiodorus 214
 Catholic-Orthodox disagreements 111,
 113–4, 132–3
 over *Filioque* 121, 128, 133–4, 140,
 149
 Catholic-Orthodox shared faith 142,
 204, 224
 Christian, Archbishop of Mainz 134
 Cathars 5–10, 22, 24–31, 51
 attitude to the Old Testament 28,
 99–100 and n. 460
 aversion from the Holy Cross 27
 churches
 Agen 70
 Albi 70, 83, 85
 Bishop; Sicard Cellarier 73,
 83, 85–6, 88
 Aranensis 83
 Bishop; Robert de Casalis 83,
 85
 Carcassonne 70, 83–4
 Bishops; Peter Isarn 82 n. 385
 Gerald Mercier 83, 85
 Concorezzo 74, 96, 98
 Bishops; Nazarius 51
 John the Jew 96
 Garattus 66
 Constantinople, church of the Latins
 60–3, 65–7, 69, 78 94, 96–102
 Petracius, envoy from? 93–4
 Dalmatia/Bosnia/Slavonia 3, 53,
 57, 63–7, 83, 87, 95–7
 leaders; Matthew and Aristodius
 66
 mitigated dualism of 66
 Desenzano/church of the
 Albanenses 54, 96–8
 Bishops; Marchisius of Soiano
 54
 John the Fair 95
 Florence 96–7
 France 67–70, 74, 76–7, 83–4,
 88, 91, 94–5, 97
 Bishop; Robert d'Espemone
 83, 85
 and see Cathar congregations,
 Mont-Aimé, below
 Lombardy and Tuscany 85,
 88–94
 Bishops; Mark 74–5, 77–9,
 83–4
 John the Jew 75, 93–6
 Peter of Florence 94–5
 Garattus 95
 Mantua (church of the Baiolenses)
 64, 96–7
 Bishop; Caloioannes 66, 95
 Spoleto 96–7
 Toulouse 70, 82–8
 Bishop; Bernard Raymond 83,
 85–6, 88
 his *socius* Raymond of Bauniac
 85–6
 Vicenza 64, 97
 Bishop; Nicholas 95
 diocesan boundaries 87
 Cathar congregations,
 Calabria 91–2

- deacon; Hilary 91
 Cologne and Rhineland 5, 8, 28,
 30, 53, 61–2, 67
 Languedoc 8, 49, 70–3, 89
 absolute dualism accepted by
 89–90, 94, 97
 Liège 68–9
 Lombers 29, 70–3, 143,
 leader; Oliver 71–3, 88
 Milan 6, 74, 76
 Mont-Aimé 68–9, 76–7
 Naples 75, 91
 Rocavione 75–7
 Saint-Félix de Caraman 84
 Cathar councils
 Saint-Félix 80–89, 99
 Synod of Mosio 95
 Cathars, date of arrival in West
 61–2, 67–8, 99
 Cathar hierarchy 59
 mission to England 75–6
 myth of a pope 81 and n. 380
 name, origin of 7 and n. 32
 alternative names 8–9
 called '*bons hommes*' in Languedoc
 71–3
 relation to Bogomils 5–7
 rite of confession 73 and n. 346,
 89–90
 rite of initiation 40, 52, 79, 84–5,
 89–91
 Ritual 25, 40, 52–4, 67
 understanding of the Last Supper
 26–7
 use of mythology 39–40
 Church councils, General
 Chalcedon 110, 205
 Constantinople I 213
 Constantinople III 110
 Ephesus 113
 Lateran III 8–9, 23, 29, 139
 Lateran IV 19
 Nicaea I 7 n. 33
 Nicaea II 20, 145–6, 214, 217,
 219–20, 223
 Church councils, Provincial
 Beauvais (1114) 68
 Braga I (561) 206
 Constantinople (1166) 13, 116–7
 Jerusalem (836) 145, 223
 Lombers (1165) 27, 70–3, 88
 Oxford (1166) 75–6
 Rheims (1167) 69
 Rome (Lateran, 1059) 14
 Rome (Lateran, 1079) 208
 Toulouse (1178) 85, 88
 Tours (1163) 6, 76
 Trnovo (1211) 49–51
 Clement III, antipope 62
 Clement of Ochrida, St., translator
 39–40
 Clement and Everard of Bucy, perhaps
 Cathars 67–8
 Cluniac Priory of Civetot 13
 Concubinage, priestly 3, 14–15,
 142–3
 Conrad III, Western Emperor 12
 Constans II, Byzantine Emperor 32
 Constantine I, Emperor 203, 213,
 222
 Constantine V, Byzantine Emperor
 34, 55
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,
 Emperor 146, 220–2
 Constantine Chrysomallus, lay
 theologian 45–6, 211–2
 Constantinople 1, 10–12
 Churches; Amalfitan 11
 English 12
 St. John the Baptist 135, 137
 St. Sophia, bleeding icon of the
 Virgin in 145, 217–8
 Latin massacre at (1182) 92
 Latin-rite Christians of 10–13
 libraries of 124
 relics of the Passion in 148, 223,
 226 and n. 113
 Constantius, Roman Emperor 213
 Cosmas I, Patriarch of Constantinople
 50
 Cosmas II Atticus, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 46, 61
 Cosmas the Priest, heresiologist 35–8,
 42
 Cremona 4
 Crusade, Albigensian 49, 84
 First 41, 61–3, 201
 Second 61
 Fourth 34–5, 48
 Cyril of Jerusalem, St. 148, 205
 Dalmatia 3, 63–6, 87
De Heresi Catharorum 52, 64–6, 73–5,
 77–80, 84, 89–90, 93–6
 Demetrius Chomatianus 203–4
 Demetrius of Lampe 115–21

- Dialogue concerning demons* of
 pseudo-Psellus 48, 208–9
 Dualist heresy in West (1000–1052) 5
 Durand of Huesca 86
 Durandus of Troarn 209–10
- Eberwin of Steinfeld 28–30, 62
 Eckbert of Schönau 8, 13, 29–30, 53, 61
Ecloga of Leo III 195
 Elizabeth of Schönau, St. 61
 Eucharistic theology, Catholic and
 Orthodox 207–10
 transubstantiation 19, 207
 ex opere operato, sacramental validity 16
 Eudocia, niece of Manuel I 128
 Eugenius III, Pope 125
 Eusebius, church historian 146, 218–9
 Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica 11
 Euthymius, bishop of Nea Patras 116
 Euthymius of the Periblepton 34, 38–40, 43–4, 65, 145, 196
 Euthymius Zigabenus 1–2, 41–45, 48, 55, 78, 100, 143, 196, 201, 209
 Evagrius, church historian 216–7, 220
- Fabricius, nephew of Leo Tuscus 109, 141
Fight at Finnesburg 79
 Frederick I Barbarossa, Western
 Emperor 7–9, 22, 76, 113, 122, 127–8, 134, 138
- Galdino, Archbishop of Milan 6
 Genoese community of Constantinople 112–3, 196
 churches of 11
 Gerald of Aurillac, St. 212
 Germanus II, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 48, 94, 97
 Gervase of Tilbury 147, 224
 Gerhoh of Reichersberg 15, 122, 212
 Gilbert de la Porée 109–10, 122, 128, 139
 Glagolithic Mass 63
Glossa Ordinaria 196–7
 Gnostic Christianity 31, 39
 Gregory Nazianzes, St. 132, 197
 Gregory of Nyssa, St. 123, 138, 197
 Gregory I, Pope, St., *Dialogues* of 123–4
 Greek translation of 125
 Gregory VII, Pope, St. 3–4, 15, 62
 Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. 132
 Gregory of Tours 214, 216–17
 Guibert of Nogent 67–8
 Guitmund of Aversa 209–10
- Henry IV, Western Emperor 3, 62
 Henry de Marsy 85
 Henry Duke of Austria 121
 Henry of Le Mans, heretical reformer 15–16, 18, 70
 Hierapolis, holy tile of 146–7, 220–3
 Hilarion of Moglena, St. 47
 Hilary of Poitiers, St. 139
 Hildegard of Bingen, St. 61–3
Historia tripartita 214, 219
 Hospitaller Order of St. John of
 Jerusalem, Constantinople
 Priory 11, 137, 141
 Prior; Peter 137
- Hugh Eteriano 1–3, 7–10, 12–28, 30, 34, 49, 99–102, 109–148
 and the 1166 Council 116–20
 his knowledge of Greek 110–12, 123–4, 126, 130, 138, 144
 his Greek writings, not extant 120–1
 created a cardinal 141
 death of 141
 use of legendary *exempla* 123, 143–7
 his writings; *Contra Patarenos* 1–4, 10, 12–24, 100–1, 142–8, 150–227
 MSS of 123, 127, 193–4
 Colombina MS 103–4, 194
 Bodleian MS 104–8
 Main themes; Patarenos preach
 secretly 14, 24, 142–3, 155–7, 177–8, 196
 refuse to honour the Holy
 Cross 20–1, 27, 147–8, 173–5, 189–91, 225–6
 refuse to swear oaths 17, 25, 143, 159–65, 179–83, 198–203
 reject marriage 17–18, 25–6, 143, 165–6, 183–4, 205–6
 reject Old Testament 17, 27–8, 99–100, 143, 163, 182, 204
 reject belief in the Real
 Presence 19, 26–7, 143, 165–8, 183–5, 207–10

- reject religious images 19–20,
 27, 144, 170–3, 187–9,
 217–25
 reject the sacraments of sinful
 clergy 14–16, 25, 142,
 158–9, 178–9, 197–8, 207–13
 miraculous *exempla*; communion of
 Macedonius 10, 143, 168,
 185–6, 213–4
 Jewish glassblower's son 10,
 143–4, 169, 186–7, 214–7
 Mandylion of Edessa 10, 20,
 143, 145–7, 171–3, 187–9,
 220–5
 miracle-working icons 145,
 170, 187
 statue of woman with issue of
 blood 143, 145–6, 170–1,
 187, 218–9
 Patarenes compared to Manichees
 21, 205
De anima corpore exuta 122–7, 149,
 195
De differentia naturae et personae 129,
 138–9, 150, 195
De minoritate ac aequalitate filii hominis
 120–1, 149, 194
De trinitate 123, 125, 129–33, 135,
 195
 Letter to Peter of Vienna 151–3
Tractatus contra Francos 140, 145,
 150
 Hugh of Honau 127–9, 138–9, 150
 Humiliati 9, 22
 Hungary, kingdom of 63, 65

 Iconoclasm, Byzantine 20
 Innocent III, Pope 49, 64–5, 107–8,
 145, 194
 Inquisition, Papal 101
 records of 80, 87
 Iosephini 9, 22, 24
 Irene, Byzantine Empress 202
 Isaac II Angelus, Byzantine Emperor
 12, 142
 Isaac the *sebastocrator* 41
 Ivo of Chartres 108

 James Capelli 26
 James of Venice 111
 Jerome, St. 10, 123, 125, 131, 156,
 177, 197
 Jews, status in Byzantine law 202–3
 Joachim of Fiore 91–2

 John Chrysostom, St. 10, 111, 123–5,
 156, 168, 177, 185, 197, 199–200,
 206, 213
 John of Damascus, St. 123, 138–9,
 225–6
 De fide orthodoxa 131 and n. 65
 John, Cardinal Deacon of SS. John
 and Paul 130, 132
 John I Tzimiskes, Byzantine Emperor
 34, 55
 John II, Byzantine Emperor 12–13,
 45–6, 58
 John of Lugio, Cathar theologian 28
 John of Salisbury 111–2
 Julian, Roman Emperor 219
 Justinian I, Byzantine Emperor 10,
 195, 203, 216

 Kalojan, Tsar of Bulgaria 49
Key of Truth, The 33 n. 146
 Kinnamos, Byzantine historian 115–7

 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury
 210
 Latin empire of Constantinople 48,
 57, 101
 Laurence, St. 10, 226
 Leo Stypes, Patriarch of Constantinople
 45–6
 Leo Tuscus 108, 112–14, 119, 132–6,
 138, 141–2, 149, 204
 translations; *Liturgy of St. John*
 Chrysostom 128–9
 Dreambook of Ahmed ben Sirin 120–1
 Leontius of Neapolis 225–6
Letter of the Three Patriarchs 145, 221,
 223–4
 Lothair II, Western Emperor 111
 Louis IX, King of France, St. 147,
 223
 Lucius II, Pope 68–9
 Lucius III, Pope 9, 22–3, 91, 100,
 141
 formerly Cardinal Bishop of Ostia
 130, 132
 Luke, Patriarch of Constantinople
 116–7

 Macedonius, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 213
 Mani/Manes, heresiarch 30–1, 57,
 205
 Manichees 21, 30–1, 195
 medieval name for dualists 69, 205

- Manuel I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor 1, 9, 12–13, 23, 46–9, 51, 100–1, 112–3, 115–20, 122, 127, 132–7, 140, 142, 149, 194, 204
- Marco de Ubaldo, Count, Pisan envoy 122
- Maria Porphyrogenita, daughter of Manuel I 128, 140
- Marriage, Catholic/Orthodox teaching about 18, 205–6
- Mary, the Blessed Virgin, patron of Constantinople 225
- Mary of Antioch, Byzantine Empress Regent 63, 140
- Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople 216
- Messalian heresy 212
- Michael II of Oxeia, Patriarch of Constantinople 46–7, 195
- Milingui of Mt. Taygetus 86–7
- Moneta of Cremona 27
- Montanist heretics 195
- Moses of Bergamo 111
- Myriocephalon, battle of 135
- Nicaea, Byzantine empire of 48, 97
- Nicephorus III, Byzantine Emperor 11
- Nicetas of Byzantium 131
- Nicetas of Nicomedia 111, 131
- Nicholas III Grammaticus, Patriarch of Constantinople 45
- Nicholas of Methone 112, 121, 131, 208–9
- Nicholas II, Pope 14
- Niphon, monk accused of Bogomilism 46
- Novatian church 7
- Odo of Cluny, St. 212–3
- Otto of Freising 24
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses* of 211
- Paris, schools of 109, 197
- Paschal III, antipope 7–8
- Paschasius Radbertus 200–1
- Passagini 9, 22–3
- Patarenes of Milan in the 11th century 3–4, 14
origin of name 2–3
- Patarenes in twelfth century, at Florence (1173) 4, 6
equated with Cathars (1179) 8–9, 22
- name used for Dalmatian and Bosnian dualists 3
see Hugh Eteriano's writings *Contra Patarenos*, above
- Paul, Bishop of Monemvasia 215–7
- Paulicians 31–5, 36, 39, 54–5, 143, 147, 204–5, 226
absolute dualist faith of 32, 54–5
founder, Constantine of Mananalis 31–2, 35
hierarchy 33
presence at Philippopolis 34–5, 55, 99
seven Paulician churches 34, 86
- Peter Damian, St. 207
- Peter Martyr, St. 51
- Peter of Pavia 139
- Peter of Sicily 32–4, 35, 205
- Peter, Tsar of Bulgaria 35, 38
- Peter of Vienna 109 n. 4, 115–17, 121, 128–9, 138, 142, 150
Hugh's letter to 151–3
- Peter the Venerable 212
- Philostorgius 219
- Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople 113, 131–2
- Phundagiagitae 38
- Piacenza 4
- Pisa, commune of 109, 111, 122, 126, 135, 137, 141–2
heretics of 122–7
community of Constantinople 111–3, 142, 196
churches of 11, 112, 135–7
Signoretto, Pisan merchant 135–8
- Poor Men of Lyons, *see* Waldensians
- Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus, Latin translation of 216
- Purgatory, doctrine of 126
- Rainier Sacconi, Inquisitor, author of *Summa de Catharis* 51, 57, 59–60, 67, 89, 96–8, 101–2
- Ramihrdus of Cambrai 14–15
- Raymond V, count of Toulouse 87
- Raymond Trencavel, Viscount of Béziers 81
- Reynald of Châtillon, Prince of Antioch 130
- Ritual* of Radoslav 53
- Robert *le Bougre*, Inquisitor 69
- Robert of Clari 223

- Romanus I Lecapenus, Byzantine Emperor 10, 221–2
- Romanus III, Byzantine Emperor 40
- Saidnaya, miraculous icon of the Virgin at 218
- Saint-Félix document 64, 67, 79–90
 authenticity disputed 80–2
 dating formula 88–9 and n. 419
- Salvo Burci, author of *Liber Suprastella* 98
- Samuel, Tsar of Bulgaria 38, 41
- Simoniac clergy 3, 14–15
- Soissons, heretics of 67–8
- Soterichus Panteugenus 114–15
- Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 144, 193, 213–4, 219
- Split 64
- Symeon the New Theologian, St. 46, 211
- Synodikon of Orthodoxy* 47, 196
- Synodikon of Tsar Boril* 50–1, 58–60, 90
- Thaddaeus the Apostle, St. 221
- Theodora, Empress Regent of Byzantium 20, 34
- Theodore Abuqarrah, Bishop of Harran 138–9
- Theodore Balsamon 47, 195
- Theodotus, Patriarch of Constantinople 114
- Theophilus, Byzantine Emperor 145, 223, 227
- Theophylact of Ochrida 131, 201
- Thomas the Apostle, St. 220
- Thomas, Archdeacon of Split, historian 66
- Trajan, Roman Emperor, and Pope Gregory 125–6
- Urban II, Pope 4
- Urban III, Pope 64
- Validity of sacraments, Orthodox/Catholic opinions about 211–13
- Venice, Peace of (1177) 134, 138
- Venice, Republic of 63
 community in Constantinople 113, 136
 churches of 11
- Veronica, image of Christ 145, 224
- Volto Santo of Lucca 145, 224
- Victor IV, antipope 7–8, 76, 113
- Vukan, Prince of Dioclea 64
- Waldensians 9, 16, 22–3, 196
- Western interest in Greek learning 110–11
- William II, King of Sicily 92
- William of Puylaurens, chronicler 16, 86, 88
- William Peyre, Catholic Bishop of Albi 73, 86
- William, Archbishop of Tyre, historian 9–10, 92, 112, 141, 226 n. 113
- Zonaras, historian 41, 227
- Zoroastrianism 31–2
- Zurvan 37

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